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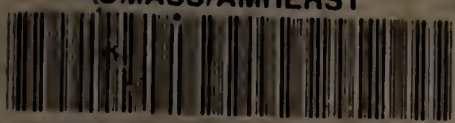
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A CASE STUDY IN PARTNERSHIP DEVELOPMENT:
THE GREATER HOLYOKE PARTNERSHIP

A Dissertation Presented

by

JOHN TAYLOR RISLEY

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February 1992

School of Education

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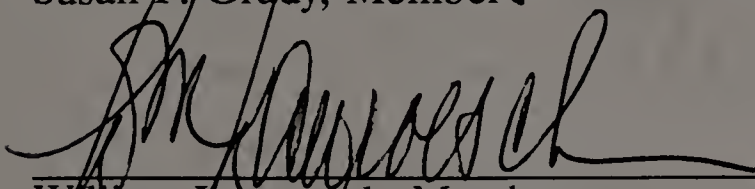
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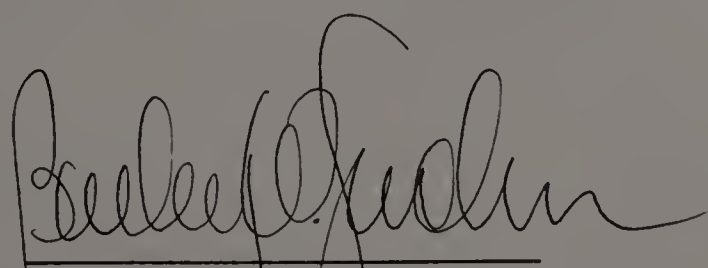
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Susan P. Grady, Member



William Lauroesch, Member



Bailey W. Jackson, Dean
School of Education

Dedicated to my children
KATE, MATT, and MARY
and my mother
MARY SNYDER RISLEY
1917 - 1965

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I would like to acknowledge those faculty, family members, and loved ones who have been especially supportive of me during the writing of this dissertation. It has been a long journey, one with a few detours and frequent stops and starts. I would not have reached the end of this particular road without the help of many individuals.

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ABSTRACT

A CASE STUDY IN PARTNERSHIP DEVELOPMENT: THE GREATER HOLYOKE PARTNERSHIP

FEBRUARY 1992

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In August 1988, a group of business, community, and educational leaders established the Greater Holyoke Partnership to assist the City of Holyoke, Massachusetts in meeting a variety of educational, economic, and housing challenges.

This study identifies and describes those elements that have been important to the development of the Greater Holyoke Partnership and determines whether there have been factors and conditions that have limited Partnership from achieving its full potential in helping the City of Holyoke meet its needs.

The review of the literature identifies eight elements and conditions critical to the successful establishment and operation of school-college-business partnerships: (1) strong leadership; (2) clear and sharply focused goals and objectives; (3) broad support; (4) clearly identified mutual needs and self-interests; (5) recognition of those involved; (6) acquisition of

financial resources; (7) sustained momentum; and (8) evaluation of outcomes.

Analysis of data from in-depth interviews, documents, and participant observation identifies eight factors that have been essential to the development and operation of the Greater Holyoke Partnership. The eight factors are: (1) leadership, especially the ability to involve a variety of individuals and instill in them, and the organizations they represent, a sense of ownership; (2) identification and selection of partners; (3) sharply focused goals; (4) identification of common needs and mutual self-interests; (5) acquisition of resources; (6) recognition and publicity; (7) accountability and systematic assessment of the Partnership's impact; and (8) flexibility to sustain itself during changing economic circumstances.

This study concludes with recommendations to strengthen the collaborative efforts of the Greater Holyoke Partnership and enhance its effectiveness, as well as a section on general recommendations for establishing and sustaining school-college-business partnerships.

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C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

As a nation we have traditionally promised our citizenry the opportunity for individual advancement, economic prosperity and the chance to participate in the democratic process. Our educational system has been the mechanism for making good on these promises. However, a variety of converging social and economic trends have created unusual difficulties for the nation's schools to provide the values, knowledge, and training that are necessary for a responsive, informed, and productive citizenry (Daly, 1985).

Many of today's youth grow up in conditions far different from those of earlier generations. They live in urban centers where there is frequently an absence of close-knit relationships and where the sense of community so critical to shaping their identity has eroded. The Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development (1989) estimated that approximately 7 million (one in four adolescents) between the ages of 10 and 17 in the United States may be in extreme jeopardy because of multiple high risk behaviors. Another 7 million are at moderate risk because of damaging behaviors. The Council concluded that these groups cannot attain the living standard of most Americans because they are caught in a vast web of dependency and failure.

The Committee for Economic Development (1987) projects that by the year 2000 a significant proportion of minority children under the age of 18, who will account for at least 38 percent of the population, will be below federal poverty levels. This will be especially true for black and Hispanic

children. As of March 1989, more than 45 percent of blacks under 16 years of age and almost 39 percent of Hispanics live below poverty level (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990).

Hodgkinson (1987) pointed out that the students who will be entering public school shortly after the year 2000 will be the most difficult to educate group with which this nation has had to deal in terms of (1) poverty, (2) non-English speaking, and (3) physical and emotional handicaps. Our school systems will continue to be hard pressed to provide appropriate educational opportunities and social support for poor minority children, 40 percent of whom are concentrated in urban inner-cities (Beckum, Zimny, & Fox, 1989). Frank Newman (cited in Gross, 1987) observed that at a time when minority populations in this country are increasing at a significant rate, the capacity of our educational system to move these students successfully through high school, college, and graduate school is deteriorating. At all educational levels, more blacks and other minority students drop out than their non-minority peers. Bernstein (1988) noted that since 1976, the percentage of black high school graduates matriculating at college declined from 34 to 26 percent and only 42 percent of those who entered college continued through to graduation. Ernest Boyer (1983) observed that:

We are going to be increasing the number of minority students in the public schools. These are the young people who have historically not been well served by public education. If the failure rate among these students persists, we're going to see continuing economic and social failure (p. 18).

In addition to these social and demographic challenges, we are producing young men and women who lack the fundamental literacy skills and technical knowledge required for today's jobs (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1989). Eighty percent of high school seniors have inadequate writing skills and fewer than 50 percent read at levels considered adequate for carrying out even moderately complex tasks (Committee for Economic Development, 1987). Increasingly, the new jobs that are being created require higher levels of critical thinking skills and technical knowledge. Of the 27 million new jobs created between 1972 and 1986, only 3 million required only a basic level of literacy. The other 24 million jobs were in professional, technical, administrative, sales, clerical, and managerial occupations (The Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1989).

This nation cannot continue to compete and prosper in the global arena when more than one-fifth of our children live in poverty and a third grow up in ignorance. And, if the nation is to continue to squander the talents of millions of our children, America will become a nation of limited potential (Committee for Economic Development, 1987, p. 1).

Increasingly, educational and business collaboratives are viewed as critical to addressing the educational challenges that face the nation. With the federal government facing the burden of deficit spending and drastically reduced school budgets, our educational system must examine ways it can help itself (Wilbur, 1986).

Numerous studies and national reports have advocated closer ties between schools, business, and institutions of higher education (Boyer,

1983; Maeroff, 1983; National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983; National Science Board Commission on Precollege Education in Mathematics, Science, and Technology, 1983). These reports call on employers, colleges and universities, human service agencies, and parent groups to join together in strengthening the nation's schools.

...the deeply ingrained problems of the disadvantaged will require collaborations that reach beyond the traditional boundaries of public education. This problem offers a new challenge to business to help bring together many different groups within the community, including schools, parents, community agencies, and local government, that can identify and strengthen effective existing projects and initiate promising new programs (The Committee for Economic Development, 1987, p. 16).

Hurwitz (1982) advocated strengthening partnerships between business and education to cope with the challenges facing modern America. The difficulties of maintaining a dedicated teaching staff and serving the needs of disadvantaged youth demand the attention of the elementary, secondary, and the higher education communities. Hathaway (1985) noted that national studies of elementary/secondary and post secondary schooling make it clear that if all levels of education do not address these challenges together, all levels of education will suffer separately. Daly (1985) urged schools and colleges, the institutions best equipped to broadly disseminate knowledge, to undertake a joint mission in the education of a technically literate workforce and to encourage individual opportunity for advancement. Gross (1988) called on colleges and universities to view the development of partnerships as central to their obligation to society and, "as an opportunity to establish an agenda that no school system, corporation,

community or government agency can realize alone (xiii)." The Quality Education For Minorities Project (1990) recommended that colleges expand their definition of affirmative action to include efforts with local schools and communities to nurture minority youngsters. Further, they encouraged the establishment of regional cooperative projects that bring together schools and businesses to develop course requirements and employment commitments. Boyer (1983) also noted that collaboration is urgently required to identify disadvantaged students at an early age and provide the help they need to move successfully through the educational system. The Task Force on Education for Economic Growth (1983) recommended that leaders outside the traditional educational system take specific steps to help improve the schools. Specifically, the Commission suggested that business leaders establish partnerships between corporations and schools. The Committee for Economic Development (1987) urged businesses to become a prime advocate of educational initiatives for disadvantaged youth. David Hamburg (1990), President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, also called upon every college and university to form a partnership with a school in its geographical area. "If we are serious about transforming the quality of our schooling across the educational continuum from K-12 to graduate study, it will require a much greater effort of substantive cooperation between schools and universities than has been the case so far." (Hamburg, 1990, p. xxii). According to Ernest Boyer (cited in Gross, 1987), the goal of collaboration between schools and industry is to reaffirm the importance not just of educational excellence but equality for all. If schools, colleges, and the corporate world do not reaffirm this commitment to equality of education, the haves and the have nots will be

further divided. The pervasive problems in education demand that education, business, and human service organizations combine their special knowledge, resources, and energies to address collectively the nation's challenge to educate its youth.

It was in this spirit that in January 1988, the newly elected Mayor of the City of Holyoke, Massachusetts requested assistance from the Donahue Institute for Governmental Services at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst to address the needs of the City. During the subsequent eight months, area leaders from business and industry, community organizations, state and local government, and higher education considered ways to address the educational, economic, and housing needs of Holyoke. As a result of these meetings, the Greater Holyoke Partnership, a non-profit organization, was established to provide the leadership and resources to improve the schools, economy, and housing in Holyoke.

The Context of School-Business Collaboration

The roots of cooperation between schools and business can be traced to before the turn of the century when business was involved in establishing tax-supported schools and mandatory attendance laws (McMullin and Snyder, 1987). Levine and Trachtman (1988) observed that cooperative education is probably the oldest and most enduring form of partnership between business and education dating back as far as 1906. Industrial changes earlier in this century led to a great influx of immigrants into the nation's cities and a dramatic increase in school enrollments. With the responsibility for educating the general population now the province of schools, an important

objective of education then was to prepare the individual for work.

Business became involved in "vocalionalizing" common schools. America's primary manufacturing competitor at that time was Germany which had oriented its educational system to vocational preparation. American businessmen wanted to institute a similar system (McMullin and Snyder, 1987). The passing by Congress of the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act in 1917 provided funds for establishing a parallel education system within the nation's schools to prepare students for jobs in agriculture, the trades and manufacturing (Grubb & Lazerson, 1974). Between 1920 and 1950, the businessmen and professionals dominated school boards and public school management was modeled on business management (McMillian & Snyder). Business and educational leaders agreed that an important objective of education was preparing students for work (Timpane, 1984).

During the 1950s, corporate involvement within the schools consisted largely of businessmen acting in policy-making roles on local school boards (Levine & Trachtman, 1988). However, during the 1960s and 1970s, businessmen withdrew from school boards as the focus of concern shifted from curriculum and cost concerns to social issues dealing with equity, civil rights and school closings (Levine & Trachtman, 1988). Corporate representatives were replaced by parent and community groups, teachers, lawyers and judges, and federal and state program managers (Timpane, 1984). In addition, businesses began moving to the suburbs in greater numbers resulting in increasing numbers of employees sending their children to suburban schools (McMullin & Snyder, 1987).

The 1980s brought a renewed interest on the part of corporations in addressing the educational needs of the country. Early in the decade, the

federal role in public education changed with the withdrawal of financial support for programs critical to urban schools. At the same time, reports from the National Commission on Excellence in Education, the Educational Commission of States, the Carnegie Foundation, and other organizations called for needed improvements and "investment" in the schools. The corporate interest in education grew from its initial narrow concern with skill acquisition to wide-ranging concerns for the preparation, recruitment, pay, treatment of teachers, school financing, and for improved methods in the ways schools are managed. Business leaders now know that the labor supply problem is essentially an education problem (Timpane, 1984).

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study has been to identify those elements that have been important to the development of the Greater Holyoke Partnership and to determine whether there have been factors that have limited the Partnership from realizing its full potential. Specific objectives of this study were:

1. To identifying from the literature the essential elements and important strategies for successful formation and operation of school/business partnerships.
2. To determine whether these essential elements were evident and whether these critical strategies were employed in the evolution of the Greater Holyoke Partnership.

3. To describe the functioning of the Greater Holyoke Partnership during its formation and first two years of operation.
4. To examine closely instances in which there were discrepancies between the essential elements and strategies described in the literature and the actual functioning of the Greater Holyoke Partnership.
5. To augment the literature with examples from the case.
6. To recommend modifications in the Greater Holyoke Partnership plan to enhance its effectiveness.

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this investigation, partnership and collaboration are terms that are used interchangeably to describe joint programs involving schools, institutions of higher education, businesses, community agencies and other organizations. Collaboration and partnership refer to two or more organizations that share in the planning, development, and establishment of programs or projects. The term partners is used to refer to members of the Greater Holyoke Partnership.

Design of Study

Three research methods were utilized in conducting this study. In-depth interviews were conducted with 11 members of the Greater Holyoke Partnership, as well as with the individuals who supported the activities of the Partnership. In-depth interviewing was a primary research methodology because of the need to employ a technique that is compatible with a study that focuses on individual interests and motivations. Since this study deals with personal beliefs and opinions, it was desirable to utilize a personal means of collecting the data. The following topic areas were explored during the in-depth interviews:

1. identification and selection of individuals to participate on
the Greater Holyoke Partnership
2. motivations, both personal and professional, for serving on
the Partnership
3. perceived needs of Holyoke and how these should be addressed by
the Partnership
4. perceptions on the evolution and development of the Partnership
5. assessment of the Partnership's organizational and structural
needs of the Partnership

6. perceptions on the Partnership's future

Two additional research methods were used in undertaking this study. The researcher analyzed Partnership documents including: planning documents, minutes from regular monthly meetings, discussion papers, progress reports, proposals, minutes from sub-committee meetings, memoranda, and newspaper articles yielded additional data. Finally, the investigator observed and participated in regular monthly meetings, executive committee meetings, sub-committee meetings, and planning meetings over a period of two years.

Significance of Study

Although much has been written describing specific partnerships, few studies have gone beyond the general descriptions and conceptualizations of what happens in these collaborative efforts. As Ascher (1988) noted, there is considerable literature on education and business collaboratives, but much of it tends to be promotional and not research-based. We need to develop a better understanding of the internal and external considerations that influence corporate leaders to become and stay involved with partnerships (Levine & Trachtman, 1988). Lacey and Kingsley (1988) also cited the need for information on how to form and sustain alliances among groups of employers. Additional research is needed if the partnership is to advance and mature (Mickelson, Kritek, Hedlund, & Kauffman, 1988). Intriligator (1986) observed that there seems to be agreement on the notion that partnerships strengthen the schools; however, there is confusion about

how to establish such programs and structure the relationships between involved organizations.

The findings of this study will be of interest to a variety of groups involved in establishing and sustaining partnerships. For example, the primary architects or "point people" in partnerships will be interested in those findings relating to identifying partners, understanding their motivations for joining in a common cause, and maintaining their interest and commitment. More specifically, the results of this study will assist the members of the Greater Holyoke Partnership as they consider ways in which the Partnership can be more effective in addressing the challenges faced by the City of Holyoke.

Although the results of this study provide valuable insights in establishing and sustaining partnerships, the researcher is aware of the limitations of this study. The Greater Holyoke Partnership is only one of many collaborative efforts that have been undertaken. It is unique because of the individuals who were involved initially, Holyoke's culture, and the period in Holyoke's history when the Partnership was established. These differences need to be considered when determining how the findings of this study may relate to partnership development in other settings.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter will review the relevant literature on the key factors that are necessary to establish and sustain effective college-school-business partnerships. Such collaborations are very idiosyncratic; they vary greatly in purpose, organization, scope, size, and location. As such, there is no given formula for the successful establishment of a partnership (Mickelson, Kritek, Hedlund, & Kaufmann, 1988; Sirotnik & Goodlad, 1988). Nevertheless, a review of the literature reveals there are common elements critical to the successful formation and development of education-business partnerships. This chapter will review the literature on the following factors: (1) leadership; (2) focus and goals; (3) generating support; (4) identifying mutual problems, needs and self-interests (5) recognition and reward; (6) resource acquisition; (7) sustaining partnerships; and (8) evaluation.

Leadership

Perhaps the most critical factor that determines a partnership's success is the quality of leadership (Hurwitz, 1982). In their study on collaboration, Mickelson et al. (1988) identified the personal interest of the chief executive officer as the most important factor that facilitates

and helps maintain partnerships. Effective school-business partnerships call for strong leadership from the highest ranks of business and education. High ranking leaders foster substantive long-term cooperative relationships among school and corporate personnel, parents, and community leaders (Committee for Economic Development (1987). Levine and Trachtman (1988) in their study of partnerships affirmed that top management must be involved for the business and education collaboration to have any impact. The importance of high-level support and cooperation is also noted by Ascher (1988), Bell (1984), Merenda (1987), Trubowitz, Duncan, Fibkins, Longo, & Sarason (1984), Vivian (1986) and Watkins (1990).

Essential to an effective partnership is a core group of high level leaders who both endorse the mission of the effort and agree to share the risks and benefits equally. These individuals must commit jobs, people, political influence, and sufficient funds to accomplish the partnership's objectives (Lacey & Kingsley, 1988). Successful collaboration requires the direct and continual involvement of the chief executive officer of each organization (Mocker, Martin & Brown, 1988). Purcell (1981) also emphasized the need for commitment from top level management. Unless the senior business executive and the school superintendent are prepared to commit financial and human resources, there can be little lasting success for the partnership. What a company will do for a school depends on an individual within the corporation who has or develops a commitment to education. The higher this person is within the organizational hierarchy, the greater the chance for significant good (Levine & Trachtman, 1988). Organizational leaders remove bureaucratic obstructions to collaborative projects, provide incentives, resources, and recognize the efforts of those involved

(DeBevoise, 1986), Senior leaders have the power to remove barriers and change policy so it encourages, rather than hampers cooperation (Powers, Powers, Betz & Aslanian, 1988). Dynamic and positive leaders must inspire other participants with their faith in the partnership and help it withstand crises and frustrations; they have tremendous influence over personnel and resources in their organizations and usually belong to a network that can further support the partnership (Gomez et al. 1990). Additionally, Intriligator (1986) notes the importance of having the chief executive officer in each member organization - or a top level administrator who has the "ear" of the CEO - involved. Such involvement serves as an incentive to other personnel in their organizations to participate in partnership activities. Chief executive officers typically use their involvement in a collaborative effort to accomplish personal goals in their organizations. Brown (1985) noted that the commitment of the chief executive officers to designate staff resources to a partnership is critical to its success. In instances where chief executive officer support was not backed up by such staff, partnerships languished. In the formative stage of partnerships, Lacey and Kingsley (1988) found that leadership was largely dependent on individuals. Over the long term, however, the success of the partnership was dependent on the individual shifting that enthusiasm for the program to their institutions.

In addition to strong leadership, several authors cite the value of a coordinator or an intermediary organization to direct the activities of the partnership (Bell, 1984; Chaffee, 1980; Dulany, 1986; Elsman, 1981; McMullin & Snyder, 1987). Within the college, a chief academic officer must assume authority and responsibility for the partnership and make it central to all

activities (Gross, 1988). If faculty members take on the role of coordinator or liaison for a partnership from their institution, they must be given the necessary institutional authority. Without it, they can only persuade and cajole (Lieberman, 1985).

The leadership skills of partnership directors are essential to the success of collaborative efforts. Elsman (1981) stressed the need for these executive directors to have both internal and external leadership abilities. Internally, the director must maintain morale, settle disputes, encourage others to get involved, and see to it that things get done. External leadership can be measured by the ability to gain access to community leaders, create a positive image for the partnership, recruit new members and generate resources. Directors need to have the ability to help others assume responsibility, to encourage all members to be involved, to motivate the group to work toward common goals, and to work with different sectors (Elsman, 1981). Jones and Maloy (1988) also stressed the need for directors to continually find ways for many individuals to shape the course and direction of the partnership. According to Intriligator (1986), liaisons need to have a variety of "coordinative and integrative skills," including (1) the ability to manage pressures from member organizations; (2) the ability to sustain member organization commitment; (3) the ability to expand goals and activities; and (4) the ability to influence member organizations to allocate necessary resources.

It is essential that the partnership director develop a sense of ownership among participants and organizations (Powers et al., 1988). All organizations involved in an educational partnership must have feelings of ownership and commitment (Shive, 1984). In their study of partnerships,

Lacey and Kingsley (1988) concluded that every successful partnership was launched by a leader individual or a small group of people whose vision, influence and perseverance made something happen. These leaders or "brokers" as they were referred to by the authors are especially important during the establishment of partnerships until a permanent management structure develops. Lacey and Kingsley (1988) described the best brokers as "bilingual": that is, they move comfortably in several contexts, acting as translators and diplomats. Usually working behind the scenes, brokers build a group of key resources and sacrifice personal credit in favor of instilling a sense of ownership among partnership members. Such ownership is a critical characteristic of effective partnerships. Recognizing that developing programs depends on the motivation and abilities of people selected by partners, strong partnerships give ownership to line staff. Good brokers instill a sense of ownership in each partner and set the stage for transferring the brokering and leadership roles from the primary organizations involved in the partnership to two groups (Lacey & Kingsley). The first group is comprised of highly placed individuals or committed leaders who have the resources and power to set policy. The second group, staff level personnel, translate policy into concrete tasks. Ownership is developed by involving partners in planning, communicating high expectations, sharing decision-making power and fulfilling organizational needs. Levine and Trachtman (1988) also noted that programs run in conjunction with a business should be shaped as much as possible by representatives of the company to encourage ownership. They also advocate involving people from all levels within organizations in the planning and decision-making process. Wilbur (1984) advocated that those who are

affected by partnership activities need to feel a sense of ownership. The greater the sense of ownership by this group, the more likely the program will be accepted. He advises that members of all affected groups be involved at an early stage in program development and implementation.

Partnership directors must also see to it that communication channels are established at many levels across the organization to ensure that the appropriate information is shared (Chaffee, 1980; Hord, 1986; Intriligator, 1986; Warmbrod, Persavich & L'Angelle, 1981). Day (1985) concluded that open communication was cited as one of the critical factors for success in collaborative programs among 770 colleges that were surveyed. Difficulties involving communications were a key inhibiting factor in the development of partnerships (Mickelson et al., 1988).

The director of the partnership must be knowledgeable about diverse organizational environments and have a good understanding of business and marketplace reality. In addition, the person serving as the director must be skilled in bringing people together across traditional organizational boundaries and working with them to clarify and reach agreement on the specific activities to be accomplished. This individual must also have the ability to identify and coordinate resources and talent needed to undertake the specific tasks and activities that have been agreed upon. Partnership directors must also inspire a cooperative spirit among representatives from the various organizations involved. If there is not a sense of mutual trust and respect among the individuals and organizations involved, then joint programs will not succeed (Wilbur, 1981).

DeBovise (1986) in his discussion about effective collaborators, emphasized the need for these individuals to use networks to build bridges

between institutions. Personal relationships between school, college, and company personnel allow brokers to exchange information and obtain special assistance.

Levine and Trachtman (1988) discussed the characteristics of effective collaborators. They must have broad community credibility, an entrepreneurial style, the ability to work well with those in education and business, and a finely honed political sense. Gross (1987) also stressed the need for the partnership director to be politically sensitive in order to best mediate among the broad range of people from the private and public sectors. Elsman (1981) also emphasized the need for partnership leaders to be politically sensitive and flexible enough to accommodate the political realities of the community and the organizations involved. Chaffee (1980) advised that partnership directors recognize and address the hidden agendas of program participants. Partnership directors must be alert to possible attempts by individual organizations to pursue additional status for their own organizations (Intriligator, 1986). Trubowitz et al. (1984) noted that the person serving as liaison between partners occupies a key role. They became more knowledgeable about the social-psychological climate of schools and make it easier for the partnership to operate in a manner that is sensitive to both institutional and personal needs.

In discussing the role of the director, Sirotnik and Goodlad (1988) cited persistence as a crucial trait. Other important characteristics are the ability to relate in an open and honest way to a wide range of groups and individuals. Although commitment is a desirable characteristic for partnership directors, Sirotnik and Goodlad cautioned that being deeply committed to a personal agenda for reform may be a liability. A personal

need to stamp a partnership with one's own agenda in the formative stage may be dysfunctional. Perhaps more important than generating ideas may be the ability to draw ideas from others and obtain agreement from them on a common agenda and strategies for action. The partnership director also needs presentation skills within and outside the partner organization (Gross, 1987).

The ability to establish trust and mutual respect is necessary to successful collaborative projects, especially in light of the history of mistrust between schools and colleges (Dansenberger & Usdan, 1984; Trubowitz et al., 1984). Purcell (1981) also stressed the need for trust given the differences and misperceptions that educational institutions and corporations have toward each other.

Focus and Goals

Those who have written about successful partnerships overwhelmingly contend that partnership goals must be clear and that the issues to be addressed by the collaborative should be specific (Acsher, 1988; Bell, 1984; Boyer, 1981; Committee for Economic Development, 1987; Lieberman, 1985; Mocker et al., 1988). Furthermore, goals should be mutually developed and agreed upon by members of the partnership. Hord (1986) believes that goals that are stated clearly and mutually held will foster collaboration. Likewise, Baily (1986) contended that agreement on goals and objectives is critical to successful collaborative efforts. The shared development of goals by partners is a necessary element of successful collaborations (Wilbur, Lambert, & Young, 1988). Chaffee (1980) advised that partnerships

should develop programs that are geared toward the capacity of the community. Some partnership organizations will want to develop large scale programs; others will prefer to launch initiatives that are smaller in scope. It is critical that changes that will result from partnership activities be tailored to the community involved.

The work of partnerships must be sharply focused. Gross (1987) noted that successful programs begin very small and build on their successes. This same advice is echoed by Bell (1984) who advocated an approach that starts out small and expands once the partnership is operating successfully. Gomez et al. (1990), Hathaway (1985) and Levine and Trachtman (1988) also argued for sharply focused efforts. Mickelson et al. (1988) advocated concentrating on a single project and thereby narrowing the focus. In underscoring the importance for programs to have well-defined and manageable goals, Vivian (1985) reminded us that there is a tendency in establishing collaborative programs to be too ambitious. He cautioned those establishing partnerships to avoid making impossible claims about what can be accomplished. In this vein, Levine and Trachtman (1988) urged simplicity in goal setting. Mickelson et al. (1988) encouraged collaborators to develop clear measurable goals based on needs. Regardless of the nature of the partnership, specific goals, both short term and long term, should be clearly defined and reviewed frequently. Shive (1984) indicated that this is especially important so that the expectations of those organizations involved are clearly understood and changes in personnel can be accommodated.

Partnerships should not become too mired in bureaucratic red tape. Ernest Boyer (1983) pointed out that most successful programs have been

those where people identify a need and act with minimal bureaucracy or extra funding. Lieberman (1986), Maeroff (1983), and Wilbur (1984) also stressed the need for partnerships to focus on action and not machinery. Partnerships that get bogged down in endless discussions will soon self-destruct, echoes Elsmann (1981). Since partnerships are performance-minded, he suggested an agenda that is action-oriented and provides a balance between short-term objectives and longer-range goals.

Generating Internal and External Support

Authors recommended a number of ways to generate support for partnerships. Intriligator (1986) emphasized the importance of each member organization officially sanctioning its participation in the partnership. Establishing from the outset the legitimacy of the partnership in each organization will strengthen commitment to the collaborative effort. Official sanctioning also sends a signal to employees to become involved in the effort. Wilbur (1985) in discussing the success of partnerships between colleges and schools pointed out that it depends on the interest and enthusiasm of college faculty and their willingness to participate in partnership activities while still attending to all of their other responsibilities. Obtaining the support and endorsement of faculty may prove challenging. Gross (1988) contended that most college faculty will view a partnership as a, "foreign body invading the traditional organism of the college (p. 49)." They see their job as attracting and teaching the best and the brightest students and partnership activities may not interest them professionally. "It will thus take every effort of the administration

- and particularly the dean, who largely determines the value system of the college - to make the argument that a college-school collaboration is important educationally (p. 49)." Partnerships also depend upon the support of school administrators. Baily (1986) noted that since college and school teachers, deans, and administrators will do much of the work, they must be totally committed to the project if it is to succeed. Administrators and faculty must see their participation in partnership activities as part of their institutional mission and recognize the benefits of participation (Warmbrod et al., 1981). Elsman (1981) and Gross (1988) urged that partnerships build influence and awareness in the community for collaborative efforts and the benefits they provide. He advocates obtaining the endorsement of top civic and business leaders and establishing alliances with local political institutions. Elsman also suggested that partnerships become community information centers that include community resource inventories, information on the local job market, educational opportunities, and training programs.

Self-Interests and Addressing Mutual Needs

For school-college collaborative projects to succeed, educators at both levels need to agree that they, indeed, have common problems (Maeroff, 1983). Wilbur (1985) also stressed the need for leaders in schools and colleges to recognize common needs. Mickelson et al. (1988) listed the development of a common understanding regarding similar problems as one of the most critical factors in the development of partnerships. In writing about the establishment of the Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute, James

Vivian (1986) cited that recognition and articulation of mutual self-interest was a necessary first step in the Institute's establishment. In order to justify the time and effort required for a successful collaboration, the needs and benefits of that collaboration must be clearly perceived by all. Lacey and Kingsley (1988) and Gross (1987) also underscored the importance of identifying needs. Determining shared objectives and agreeing on intended outcomes by all parties is the hallmark of successful partnerships (Mickelson et al., 1988).

Agreement on problems and the recognition of organizational limitations are also necessary to the successful formation of partnerships. Institutions involved must agree that there, indeed, are common problems that need to be addressed (Ascher, 1988). Boyer (1981), Baily (1986), and Jones and Maloy (1988) also stressed the importance of recognizing their shared problems. McMullan and Snyder (1987) in writing about successful business and school partnerships advise that each must be sensitive to the other organization's interests and limitations. Clark (1984) noted the importance of those involved recognizing that each collaborating organization has different capacities and faces different constraints. Chaffee (1980) and Jones and Malloy (1988) also stressed the need for partners to recognize the limitations and constraints of the organizations involved.

Mocker et al. (1988) stated that collaboration works best when all institutions involved work on the basis of "enlightened self-interest." Their study revealed that successful partnerships were those in which the leaders were aware of the benefits that each institution would reap as a result of collaboration. "Enlightened self-interest provided the motivation

to begin and sustain a collaborative effort" (Mocker et al., 1988, p. 45). In their discussion of governance characteristic of successful collaboratives, Gomez et al. (1990) concluded that, "a clearly articulated and accepted statement of mutual self-interest and common goals appears a necessary starting point" (p. 14-15). With such a document, each partner can see a clear relationship between the partnerships objectives and his or her organization's self-interest (Clark, 1984). Sirotnik and Goodlad (1988) cited the mutual satisfaction of self-interests as one of three basic characteristics of partnerships. Wilbur (1985) also identified the recognition by the parties of each others mutual needs as an essential condition for success in collaboration. Doyle (1985) noted the need for all parties to acknowledge the goals and benefits of enhanced relations. Partnerships are likely to be more successful when projects allow companies to meet some of their own goals, as well as serving the needs of educational institutions (Dansenberger & Usdan, 1984). In discussing the importance of recognizing mutual self-interests, DeBevoise (1986) suggested that the first step in a collaborative project is to appreciate what the rewards are for each side. If schools, colleges, and companies clearly understand how each institution will benefit from a project in the beginning, and each institution then works to meet the needs of its partner, there will likely be more opportunities for additional collaborative activities. Jones and Maloy (1988) also emphasized the need for organizations to identify payoffs in order to establish an interactive exchange of people, ideas, and resources. Lacey and Kingsley (1988) in their study concluded that the fulfillment of organizational needs proved to be the primary reason institutions joined partnership projects. Such programs need to be sold

through self-interest. In their discussion of dealing with turf issues in partnerships, Sirotnik and Goodlad (1988) observed that the belief in the satisfaction of the self-interests of other partners is essential to the satisfaction of one's own self-interests. Levine and Trachtman (1988) warned that striving for consensus within the partnership should not be at the expense of the partner's need for personal self-fulfillment.

Once common needs and problems have been identified, it is necessary to develop projects that are designed to meet the mutual needs of the organizations involved. Gomez et al. (1990) compares educational collaboratives to personal relationships. As with personal relationships, partners come together with different backgrounds, values and goals and must balance the needs and interests of all involved, despite inherent differences, through active participation and commitment. Objectives must align with the long-term plans of each participating institution; otherwise, the partnership will be viewed as peripheral to the primary mission of schools and postsecondary institutions.

Recognition and Reward

A number of authors (Bailey, 1986; Boyer, 1981; Hord, 1986) discussed the need to recognize and reward those involved in partnerships. Maeroff (1983) cited recognition as one of five basic principles that must be followed if collaborative projects are to succeed. Mickelson et al. (1988) also believed that recognizing and rewarding individuals who participate in partnership activities is one of the critical characteristics of effective partnerships. College and university faculty, in particular, "need to view

their participation within the framework of the research, teaching, and service elements which are the traditional criteria for faculty rewards" (Mickelson et al., 1988, p. 66). For collaborative programs to succeed, all participants must receive meaningful recognition and rewards. Tangible benefits such as the reduction of responsibilities and release time must be offered. This is particularly important for faculty members and teachers, most of whom are already working to full capacity (Wilbur, 1984). Lieberman (1985) also stressed the importance of providing incentives for college faculty that are real and germane. For example, work with a high school should be considered in tenure and promotion decisions. The Committee for Economic Development (1982) emphasized the need for corporations to recognize and provide career enhancement to encourage their staff to be involved in partnership activities. In describing his involvement in the partnership between Queens College and the Louis Armstrong Middle School in New York, Trubowitz (1984) emphasized the need for those involved in the collaborative effort to feel that they were achieving their goals. This sense of gratification is necessary for a collaboration to be fully effective. Elsman (1981) emphasized that there must be a sense of forward motion; a sense that more is going on than just talk. Gross (1987) also noted the importance of public recognition for partnerships and stresses the need for the director to have well-honed public relations skills for use both internally and outside the partnership. Most college faculty will view the partnership as foreign and thus it will take great effort to make the case that a partnership is educationally important (Gross, 1988).

Closely related to topic of recognition is the need for publicity and endorsements for partnership efforts. Jones and Maloy (1988) in their discussion about guidelines for initiating partnerships, included the need to obtain and publicize endorsements from high-ranking officials in each of the organizations involved. Lacey and Kingsley (1988) also underscored the importance of publicizing partnership activities. Purcell (1987) also supported the need for chief executive officers and top educational administrators to make their interest in these programs known through publications, public appearances, and through recognition of volunteers. Baily (1986) advocated the need for publicity so that the work of those involved will be recognized and appreciated by their colleagues.

Resource Acquisition

Hathaway (1985), Jones and Maloy (1988), Lacey and Kingsley (1988), Purcell (1981) and Sirotnik and Goodlad (1988) all underscored the critical need for partnerships to acquire both financial and human resources. These resources need to be generated on a continual basis in order for long-term collaborative efforts to be successful. It is critical that executive officers from the organizations involved and the director of the partnership identify and acquire funds and recruit individuals and organizations to participate in projects.

Partnerships will not succeed either in the short or long-term unless there are sufficient financial and human resources. In their study of factors that inhibit collaboration, Mickelson (1988) and his colleagues concluded that the lack of financial support was the most frequently

identified barrier. McMullan and Snyder (1988) noted that the stability of partnerships depends on the continuity of staffing and on sustained funding. Resource acquisition is such an important factor to the long-term well-being of collaborative efforts that Vivian (1985) suggested that an initial step in establishing a partnership should be to assess the available resources. Partnerships often rely on discretionary funding and this does not promote stability. Many collaborations are supported initially by grants from corporations and foundations, but as this short-term funding runs out, the future of partnerships is jeopardized (Ascher, 1988).

Sustaining Partnerships

All of the factors discussed thus far are important in the establishment and continuance of partnerships. As Gomez, Bissell, Danziger, and Casselman (1990) pointed out, the challenge of sustaining a partnership is greater than that of establishing one. Regardless of its strengths, its leadership, the clarity of focus, or the sophistication of its organizational structure, a collaboration will not succeed in the long term unless it has been able to inspire the loyalty and commitment of its participants. "A partnership must be sensitive to and cultivate the interpersonal and intersegmental dynamics that will sustain it over time (Gomez et al., 1990, p. 139)." Collaborations, if they are to survive, should be undertaken because participants are convinced that the effort is educationally worthwhile (Wilbur, 1985). Levine and Trachtman (1988) also emphasized that in order to survive collaboratives must find a way to maintain the business community's involvement in a climate where there are

other public demands on its resources. Unless there is some continuity of leadership, it is very difficult to sustain partnerships. Rudy Castruita, Superintendent of the Santa Ana Unified School District in Southern California and co-director of a partnership notes that, "the key is to have the same players at the table all the time" (Watkins, 1990, p. 17). Elsman cited the need for partnerships to determine how individual and group leadership can be sustained, how to enlist the support and encourage potential leaders, and how to weed out ineffective members without alienating them. Elsman (1981) cautioned that the long term health of partnerships depends on avoiding domination by a single interest group and prolonged institutional turf battles. A partnership will stay together as long as its members feel there is a feeling of progress and achievement. Mickelson (1988) and his colleagues concluded from their study that the commitment of the chief executive officers from the various organizations involved is also an important facilitating factor in sustaining school and university partnerships.

Flexibility is another critical factor in the long-term success of partnerships (Elsman, 1981). Collaborations must be prepared to cope not only with changes in their community but also in the economy. They must continually maintain their economic vitality (Intriligator, 1986). Baily (1986) in discussing the need for collaborative efforts to be viewed as long-term undertakings noted that staying power is particularly important given the history of episodic collaborative projects that have not succeeded. Durdin (1985) observed that school-college partnerships that survive will be those that recognize, "the complexity of the effort, try not

to please everyone, persist, and keep in mind the real focus of the effort - the well-being of the young people involved" (p. 46).

Developing cross linkages between organizations and encouraging a membership that is representative of the community is critical to sustaining partnerships. Jones and Maloy (1988) noted that while business leaders, faculty members, and human service personnel often work successfully with teachers, partnerships require interorganizational linkages. According to Elsmann (1981), linking diverse institutional self-interests is the primary strategy to involve organizations in the development and establishment of programs. In discussing the importance of multiple linkages, Intriligator (1986) noted that such ties reduce the over-reliance on specific individuals to promote collaboration. She contended that the greater number of linkages among organizations involved, the more that members will view the partnership as successful. Chaffee (1980) advised that cross-linkages need to be developed and utilized to broaden the information base upon which decisions are made. Building a strong sense of ownership among those involved in collaborative efforts is another reason for partnerships to seek broad representation. A broad-based group that is involved in the initial planning stages of a program will develop a feeling of ownership and shared commitment to back the program's work (Wilbur, 1981). The involvement of all personnel at all levels in the development of partnerships is also a key factor to sustaining collaborative programs (Mickelson et al., 1988).

As Lacey and Kingsley (1988) have observed, such cross institutional alliances do not occur naturally. They must be developed, nurtured and managed by a person, a "broker," or a small group of individuals.

Evaluation

Gross (1987) cited the need for evaluation in light of the lack of evidence substantiating that business and education partnerships affect student academic achievement. Innovative approaches to evaluation must be developed that focus on the impact that collaborative programs have on student success (Baily, 1986). Lacey and Kingsley (1988) also stressed the need for evaluation. Only through well-conceived evaluation can it be determined whether projects are meeting their goals and if students are benefiting from the partnership. Such evaluations also help to establish credibility of the partnership (Wilbur, 1981). Ruffin (1983) urged organizations to agree on a method of evaluating specific activities in addition to jointly developing the overall program. On-going evaluation is integral to the program's design and should be used to refine goals and activities. Vivian (1985) noted the importance of providing concrete evidence on the results of collaborative programs since they may not be regarded as central to the missions of the organizations involved. Measuring achievement also provides partners with a continuing sense of productivity, which is vital to partnership longevity (Clark, 1984).

Summary

Although partnerships take different forms and develop in various ways, there are a number of crucial elements necessary for partnerships to succeed. The quality of leadership is among the most important characteristics. Chief executive officers must be committed and must

inspire others to work on behalf of the partnership. High level leaders can provide incentives, remove barriers, and contribute financial and human resources to support collaborative activities. Partnerships also need the leadership of a coordinator or program manager who can oversee the day-to-day operations. This person must be able to sustain the commitment of member organizations, move comfortably in several contexts, encourage others to become involved, influence member organizations to contribute the necessary resources, and maintain sufficient flexibility to accommodate political realities of the community and the organizations involved. Additionally, this person must have the ability to establish trust and mutual respect, make people accountable, and establish and maintain communications at many levels of the organizations involved in a partnership.

Goals should be clear and mutually agreed upon by members of a partnership. Collaborative activities must be sharply focused and begin on a small scale initially and then expanded once the partnership is operating successfully. Effective partnerships should avoid becoming bogged down in bureaucratic red tape and endless discussions. The focus should be action-oriented.

Generating support for partnerships relies on a number of factors. Organizations that are involved in partnerships should officially sanction their involvement thereby encouraging employees to become involved and communicate to the broader community the organization's commitment to the collaborative. Partnerships should also obtain the endorsements of top community and business leaders and develop alliances with local political institutions. In the formative stages of partnership development,

leadership is largely dependent upon individuals who are committed to the partnership. However, this initial enthusiasm must be transferred from individuals to their organizations if partnerships are to sustain themselves. Collaboratives must be prepared to adapt to personnel changes and to economic downturns.

Those involved in partnerships need to understand the problems they have in common. Organizations must also be knowledgeable both about each other's limitations and the self-interests each hopes to have served through their participation in the collaborative effort. Once common needs have been identified and mutual self-interest has been acknowledged, activities need to be jointly designed and implemented to address the mutual problems.

Recognizing and rewarding those involved in collaborative activities is critical to successful partnerships. Faculty in particular need to be rewarded for their participation in such activities within the framework of teaching, research, and service, the traditional criteria upon which the work of faculty is acknowledged. In addition to recognizing and rewarding those involved in partnerships, it is necessary to publicize and obtain endorsement for collaborative undertakings.

Partnership must continually seek resources, both financial and human, to support activities. For collaborative efforts to succeed in the long-term, they need to be institutionalized and not be dependent on discretionary funds or "soft" money. Partnerships also need to be prepared to deal with the expected turnover of staff, at all levels, who become involved in activities.

For partnerships to sustain themselves over the long-term, they must be able to inspire the loyalty and commitment from their participants,

especially those in business. In addition, collaboratives cannot become overly dependent on the enthusiasm of individuals. Such commitment needs to extend to the organizations involved so as to better cope with changing economic circumstances and the inevitable turnover in personnel.

Partnerships need to be broad-based and representative of the communities they serve. It is critical that multiple linkages be developed between participating organizations in order to reduce over-reliance on specific individuals. Those who are to be affected by the activities of the Partnership should be involved in planning of such programs.

Tremendous time and energy are required to develop and maintain the activities of partnerships and often evaluation does not take place. Nevertheless, evaluating the effectiveness of such programs is crucial to refine goals and activities and to provide concrete evidence that collaborative programs are, in fact, having their intended impact and helping organizations meet their broader goals.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF STUDY

Introduction

This chapter describes how qualitative methodology was used to identify and describe the essential components of the Greater Holyoke Partnership as well as the strategies necessary to sustain itself. Included in this chapter is a justification for the use of qualitative research measures, information on the selection of study participants, the rationale for utilizing specific qualitative research techniques, and the collection and analysis of data.

A case study on the development of the Greater Holyoke Partnership was derived from data gathered using in-depth interviewing as the primary research tool. Analysis of Partnership documents and participant observation also yielded additional data. Information was gathered on the following questions:

1. How did members of the Greater Holyoke Partnership perceive the evolution of the Partnership?
2. What were the interests and motives of the individuals who served on the Greater Holyoke Partnership?

3. What were the key factors that contributed to the success and difficulties of the Partnership?
4. What were the Partners' recommendations concerning the future of the Partnership?

Rationale for Utilizing Qualitative Research Measures

Naturalistic inquiry as described by Guba (1978) was very helpful to the researcher in considering a research methodology. He described the naturalistic inquirer as one who, "is concerned with description and understanding; thus he begins as the anthropologist might begin ... immersing himself in the investigation with as much of an open mind as possible" (p. 13).

Given the nature of this study, the researcher believed that qualitative measures were the most appropriate means of collecting and analyzing information. As Wilson (1977) noted, the phenomenological approach asserts that, "the social scientists cannot understand human behavior without understanding the framework within which the subject interprets their thoughts, feelings, and actions" (p. 249). A quantitative approach would have required the investigator to impose a priori limitations on the data which would have made it difficult to discover the perspectives of the subjects.

Quantitative research is inductive. Researchers develop concepts, insights, and understanding from patterns in the data, rather than collecting data to assess preconceived models, hypotheses, or

theories. In qualitative studies, researchers follow a flexible research design. They begin their studies with vaguely formulated research questions (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984, p. 5).

In addition, the researcher believed that utilizing qualitative research techniques would allow him to develop a deeper understanding of the issues relating to the development of the Greater Holyoke Partnership. As Patton (1980) has noted, "Qualitative measures describe the experiences of people in depth" (p. 22). Miles & Huberman (1984) also advocate the use of qualitative techniques.

Qualitative data are attractive. They are a source of well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes occurring in local contexts. With qualitative data, one can preserve chronological flow, assess local causality, and derive fruitful explanations. Then, too, qualitative data are more likely to lead to serendipitous findings and new theoretical integrations; they help researchers go beyond initial preconceptions and frameworks.... Words especially when they are organized into incidents or stories, have a concrete, vivid, meaningful flavor that often proves far more convincing to a reader - another researcher, a policy maker, a practitioner - than pages of numbers (p. 15).

The decision to develop a case study was made after considering the nature of the topic being studied. The identification of key elements and strategies necessary for partnership development and necessary to sustain the interest of partners called for a research design that would allow for the discovery of individual motivations, opinions, beliefs, attitudes, and experiences.

(A major strength of case study data collection is the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence. The opportunity to use

multiple sources of evidence far exceeds that in other research strategies, such as experiments, surveys, or histories. Experiments, for instance, are largely limited to measurement and recording of actual behavior and generally do not include the systematic use of survey or verbal information. Surveys tend to be the opposite, emphasizing verbal information but not the measurement or recording of actual behavior. Finally, histories are limited events in the "dead" past and therefore seldom have any contemporary sources of evidence, such as direct observations of a phenomenon or interviews with key actors (Yin, 1984, p. 90).

The use of multiple qualitative research methods for gathering information allowed the researcher to verify the accuracy of his findings.

Multiple sources of information are sought and multiple sources are used because no single source of information can be trusted to provide a comprehensive perspective on the program. By using a combination of observations, interviewing, and document analysis, the evaluation field researcher is able to use different data sources to validate and cross-check evaluation findings (Patton, 1980, p. 157).

Miles & Huberman (1984) underscored the importance of providing triangulation for the study to avoid researcher bias. For example, when the researcher relies solely on conversations to establish and corroborate his findings, there will be a "potential cognitive conflict of interest," (p. 234). Furthermore, Miles & Huberman contend that if the researcher self-consciously sets out to gather and double check findings using multiple sources and types of evidence, verification will largely be built into the information gathering process. Yin (1984) also emphasized the need to use multiple sources of information.

✓ The use of multiple sources of evidence allows an investigator to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and

observational issues. However, the most important advantage presented by using multiple sources of evidence is the development of converging lines of inquiry, a process of triangulation. Thus any finding or conclusion in the case study is likely to be much more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information, following a corroboratory mode (Yin, 1984, p. 91).

Data Collection

This case study on the development of the Greater Holyoke Partnership was derived from data gathered using in-depth interviewing as the primary research tool. Analysis of Partnership documents and participant observation also yielded additional data.

Interviewing

In-depth interviewing was the primary qualitative research method utilized because this study focused on the personal perceptions, attitudes, opinions, and experiences of those who were involved in the process of establishing and operating the Partnership.

Interview data for program evaluation purpose allow the evaluator to capture the perspectives of program participants, staff, and others associated with the program. What does the program look like and feel like to people involved? What are the experiences of the program participants? What thoughts do people knowledgeable about the program have concerning program operations, processes, and outcomes? What do people know about the program? What are their expectations? What features are most salient to the people involved?

Subjects

The selection of interview subjects was based on several different factors. The researcher chose to interview all active members of the Greater Holyoke Partnership assuming that each individual would have insights regarding the development and needs of the Partnership. Subjects had to have attended at least half of the regular monthly meetings held by the Partnership between September 1988 and February 1991 to be considered active. Eleven subjects were interviewed for this study. A sincere interest in the activities of the Partnership was an important criterion in the selection of subjects. An ability to articulate perceptions and opinions was also an important consideration in selecting interview subjects. Finally, their willingness to participate and to allot the required time (one to two hours) to discuss their perceptions and beliefs was essential.

Subjects included a hospital president, an attorney, a university administrator, a director of a community agency, a newspaper publisher, a president and chief executive officer of an insurance company, a regional bank president, a mayor, a president of a manufacturing company, and two bank chairmen and chief executive officers.

In-depth interviews with individual members of the Partnership were not conducted until the researcher had spent almost six months attending regular meetings of the Partnership, as well as participating as a member of the higher education liaison group task force, a sub-committee to assist the Partnership in planning and carrying out its educational programs. During this time, the researcher interacted informally as much as was possible with

members of the Partnership to develop the trust and rapport that is so necessary for conducting interviews. Lincoln and Guba (1985) emphasize the importance of trust and describe it as a, "developmental process ... to demonstrate to the respondents that their confidences will be honored, that hidden agendas are not being served" (p. 303).

Members of the Partnership were informed at one of their meetings in October 1989 that the researcher would be contacting them to make arrangements for interviews. The researcher followed up this announcement with a telephone call to arrange a date and time for the interview. At the time of the telephone call, respondents were reminded of the purpose of the interview and asked to set aside an hour and a half for the meeting. Each telephone call was followed by a letter confirming the day and time of the interview. A copy of the interview guide was included with each letter to give respondents an opportunity beforehand to consider the topics that would be addressed.

The researcher was able to interview all active members of the Greater Holyoke Partnership during a six month period from December 1989 through May 1990. Interviews were conducted face-to-face at the subject's place of employment which in every case was a spacious, private, and comfortable office. In one instance, the researcher was unable to meet personally with the subject which required that he tape record a telephone interview. Given the schedules and demands of the subjects, all of whom were chief executives, the researcher was especially impressed by the length of time that each respondent committed to the interview.

The Interview Guide

To facilitate the interviews, a guide was developed that included general topics that would be addressed. The use of an interview guide helped to make sure that the same topics were covered during the course of each interview and that common information was obtained from each of the respondents.

The interview guide provides topics or subject areas within which the interviewer is free to explore, probe, and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject. Thus the interviewer remains free to build a conversation within a particular subject area, to word questions spontaneously, and to establish a conversational style - but with the focus on a particular subject that has been predetermined (Patton, 1980, p. 200).

Although the guide included specific questions, the sequence in which they were asked often varied. By changing the order of questions and adapting them slightly for each subject, the researcher was able to maintain a conversational tone during the course of the interviews.

The interview guide simply serves as a basic checklist during the interview to make sure that all relevant topics are covered. The interviewer is thus required to adapt both the wording and the sequence of questions to specific respondents in the context of the actual interview (Patton, 1980, p. 198).

As Taylor and Bogdan (1984) point out, the use of an interview guide is especially beneficial when the researcher already knows something about the subjects to be interviewed. Since the researcher in this case was familiar

to the subjects from his presence at meetings, the use of an interview guide seemed very appropriate.

The initial interview guide focused on the following topics:

1. general information about the City of Holyoke - its challenges
2. professional and personal involvement in the City of Holyoke
3. differing perceptions about the City of Holyoke as a result of involvement with the Partnership
4. participation in volunteer activities in the City of Holyoke and other cities
5. specific involvement with the Partnership
6. Partnership activities of particular interest
7. personal interest in serving on the Partnership
8. comparisons of the Partnership to other organizations
9. thoughts on the development and evolution of the Partnership
10. future involvement in the Partnership
11. professional motivations for serving on the Partnership

Following the initial interview, the researcher listened carefully to the tape recording of that interview and closely examined the transcript to determine the appropriateness of the questions. As a result of this review, the investigator revised and reorganized the interview guide deleting some questions and rewording others. The final interview guide covered three broad categories: (1) background information about the subject and his/her perceptions of the City of Holyoke; (2) the subject's involvement with the

Greater Holyoke Partnership; and (3) the subject's perceptions about the future of the Partnership. A copy of the interview guide is included in Appendix A.

The researcher was careful not to structure the interview guide questions to follow any kind of prescribed sequence. By adopting a flexible approach, the investigator hoped that respondents would feel free to discuss issues in greater detail and introduce additional topics not included in the interview guide.

Prior to each interview, the researcher reminded respondents that the purpose of this study was to provide data for the researcher's dissertation and to assist the Greater Holyoke Partnership in its planning effort. The investigator received permission to tape record each interview. Tape recording also permitted the researcher to concentrate on his interaction with the interview subject rather than on note taking. The researcher also promised to keep their comments strictly confidential and assured that the identity of the partner would not be connected to a particular response. The researcher promised to delete any identifying information, such as organizational names, that could be attributable to quotes that were incorporated into the final report. Although one respondent expressed concern initially about who would have access to the tape, he understood the need and agreed to have the interview recorded.

Although the interview guide included specific questions, the researcher allowed the interview to take a natural course rather than impose a strict sequence of topics to be addressed. The investigator asked more detailed questions for clarification when necessary. Each interview lasted between one and two hours.

Documents

Although some researchers tend to view official documents as highly subjective and therefore do not consider such material data useful, Bogdan & Blikien (1982) consider document analysis a critical research tool for qualitative researchers.

Most people talk disparagingly about these mounds of paper, and might look askance at us for calling these official documents 'data.' We are talking about such things as memos, minutes from meetings, newsletters, policy documents, news releases and the like. 'These materials have been viewed by many researchers as extremely subjective, representing the biases of the promoters, and when written for external consumption, presenting an unrealistically glowing picture of how the organization functions. For this reason, many researchers consider them unimportant, excluding them as 'data.' It is precisely for these properties (and others) that qualitative researchers look upon them favorably. Remember, qualitative researchers are not interested in 'the truth' as it is conventionally conceived. They do not search for the 'true picture' of any school. Their interest in understanding how the school is defined by various people propels them toward official literature (Bogdan & Blikien, 1982, p. 100).

Patton (1980) also emphasizes the importance of program records and documents.

One particularly rich source of information about many programs is program records and documents. The nature of program records and documents will vary from program to program, but in contemporary society all programs leave a paper trail that the evaluator can follow and use to increase knowledge and understanding about the program (Patton, 1980, p. 152).

Patton (1980) and Yin (1984) encourage researchers to gain access to program documents and records. Program documents can provide valuable

insights into program structure, processes, and communication patterns.

They can also provide clues about leadership styles and indications of what members of a particular group value (Bogdan & Blikien, 1982).

It is important at the very beginning of the evaluation to negotiate access to program documents and records. These kinds of program documents provide the evaluator with information about many things that cannot be observed because they have taken place before the evaluation began, because they may include private interchanges to which the evaluator is not directly privy, and because they reflect aspects of the organization that may be idealized in formal documents but which, because of ideals are not realized in actual program performance, might be unknown to the evaluator (Patton, 1980, p. 152).

Yin (1984) contends that, "documents play an explicit role in any data collection in doing case studies" (p. 81). Documents corroborate and augment evidence from other sources. They also permit the researcher to verify specific names or titles that may have been mentioned during the course of an interview. Finally, inferences can be made from documents although care must be taken not to consider these as definitive findings.

Although documents can be a valuable source of data, care must be taken not to overly rely on them as a source of information. As Patton (1980) has pointed out, they may be incomplete and selective, in that only the positive aspects of the program are documented and they may be uneven in quality with varying degrees of detail. Yin (1984) also cautions researchers to maintain their objectivity about the truthfulness of documents.

It is important in reviewing any document to understand that it was written for some specific purpose and some specific audience other than those of the case study being done. In this sense, the case study investigator is a vicarious observer, and the

documentary evidence reflects a communication among other parties attempting to achieve some other objectives. By constantly trying to identify these conditions, a researcher is less likely to be misled by documentary evidence and is more likely to be correctly critical in interpreting the contents of such evidence (Yin, 1984, p. 81).

The researcher was able to obtain a variety of documents associated with the formation and on-going activities of the Partnership. This material included planning documents, minutes of meetings, discussion papers, strategic plans, memoranda, newspaper articles, sub-committee reports, and progress reports. Most of these documents were obtained from the permanent files of the Donahue Institute for Governmental Services at the University of Massachusetts.

Planning documents included articles of organization, initial mission statements, a strategic plan for revitalizing the City of Holyoke, and recommendations concerning organization and structure of the Partnership. This material provided background information on the initial organizational structure and the concerns that members hoped to address through the Partnership and its programs.

The researcher was able to obtain and copy minutes from all of the general meetings of the Greater Holyoke Partnership over two and a half years beginning in August 1988 through to February 1991. The minutes of the monthly meetings provided a means of ascertaining the issues that concerned individual members of the Partnership. Minutes also provided valuable insights into leadership style, communication patterns, decision-making processes, and whether actions agreed upon in meetings were taken. Copies of minutes from meetings of the sub-committee on public relations, the sub-

committee on education (Higher Education Liaison Group), and the executive committee were also obtained. The investigator also made copies of all newspaper articles on the Greater Holyoke Partnership.

Copies of the following reports, discussion papers, and proposals were carefully reviewed by the researcher:

- A Strategic Plan to Enhance the Quality of Education in the
Holyoke Public School System - January 1989
- Six Model Educational Programs Designed to Enhance the
-Quality of Education in the Holyoke Public School System - February
1989
- Holyoke Public Schools/Monarch Capital Corporation Resource and
Development Center - March 1989
- Interim Status Report - May 1989
- Holyoke Public Schools: Goals and Objectives - 1989
- Holyoke Housing Study: Executive Summary - September 1989
- Holyoke Housing Study: Final Report - October 1989
- Support Services Needed By The Greater Holyoke Partnership
- Greater Holyoke Partnership Economic Development Committee:
Strategic Planning Report - December 1989
- Educational Activities Supported By the Greater Holyoke
Partnership - June 1989
- Update on Educational Activities Newly Supported By the
Partnership or Actively Being Pursued By the Partnership - May
1990

-Restructuring the Greater Holyoke Partnership: A Discussion

Paper - June 1990

-Holyoke Housing Study Phase II; Executive Summary -

October 1990

-Four Focus Areas in Education: Information and Suggested

Strategies - January 1990

Observation

Patton (1980) noted that participant observation allows the researcher to fully experience the setting under investigation while simultaneously trying to understand that setting through personal experience, observations and discussion with others. Such participation provides the researcher with the opportunity to develop, "an insider's view of what is happening" (p. 127). Patton also observed that the researcher is better able to understand the program under investigation by observing how it operates. Participant observation allows the researcher to, "move beyond the selective perceptions of others" (Patton, p. 124-25).

Marshall & Rossman (1989) also discussed the benefits of observation as a data collection technique.

Participant observation is a special form of observation and demands firsthand involvement in the social world chosen for study. Immersion in the setting allows the researcher to hear, see and begin to experience reality as the participants do (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 79).

Guba (1978) also advocated persistent observation to establish validity. "If one way to establish adequacy of a 'fact' or inference is through the use of repeated perspectives ... another way is through the use of repeated observations from a single perspective" (p.65).

The researcher observed various meetings of the Greater Holyoke Partnership during a two-year period from July 1989 to June 1991. Such meetings included regular monthly meetings of the full membership and executive committee meetings after that committee was created in June 1990. By virtue of his appointment to serve as the liaison to the Partnership for his employer, the researcher was also a participant. In this capacity, the researcher was a member of the sub-committee on education comprised of representatives from colleges and universities involved in the Partnership. He also attended several sub-committee meetings on the acquisition of resources since corporate and foundation fund-raising is the field in which he works.

The researcher felt that observational data would enable him to gain insights into the establishment and development of the Greater Holyoke Partnership that would complement the in-depth interviews and documents analysis.

Data Analysis

According to Bogdan & Blikem (1982), data analysis is the process of carefully examining and arranging generated data to increase the researcher's understanding of the material and to present his findings to others.

Analysis involves working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you tell others (Bogdan & Blikien, 1982, p. 145).

As suggested by Bogdan and Blikien (1982), data analysis began during the course of the interviews. Glaser and Strauss (1967) underscore the importance of beginning to examine the data while it is being collected. Miles and Huberman (1984) also advocate analysis during data collection.

From the beginning of data collection, the qualitative analyst is beginning to decide what things mean, is noting regularities, patterns, explanations, possible configurations, causal flows, and propositions. The competent researcher holds these conclusions lightly, maintaining openness and skepticism, but the conclusions are still there, incoherent and vague at first, then increasingly explicit and grounded (Bogdan & Blikien, 1982, p. 22).

In analyzing the data, the researcher employed the inductive analytical approach as described by Patton and developed categories to present information on specific themes.

Inductive analysis means that patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being superimposed on them prior to the data collection and analysis The analyst can use the categories developed and articulated in the program studied to organize presentation of particular themes (Patton, 1980, p. 396).

The tape recordings of all interviews for this study, with one exception, were transcribed in their entirety by a professional typist. In the one instance when the researcher had to conduct a telephone interview,

the tape recorder malfunctioned and he had to rely on a summary which he wrote immediately following the interview. The researcher then reviewed the transcriptions and compared them carefully to the recordings to check for accuracy. Corrections were made to the transcripts. Listening to the tape recordings also gave the researcher the opportunity to note tone and voice inflection. The next step was to carefully examine each transcript and note possible themes that emerged from the data. According to Guba (1978), the investigator begins by looking for "recurring regularities" in the data. The regularities can be sorted by categories. These categories should then be judged on their degree of "internal homogeneity" or to the extent that the data within that particular category hold together in a meaningful way. Categories should also be judged by the extent to which the differences between them are clear. The researcher checked for instances of overlapping data, a high number of which would indicate a faulty category system.

With a list of tentative themes for each of the eleven interviews, the researcher carefully reviewed these lists and developed a list of some 20 common themes or topics that subjects had discussed. These initial themes were then examined to determine whether some could be combined into broader categories. For example, each respondent discussed some aspect of Holyoke - its history, the challenges facing the city, the ethnic tension between the Irish and the Puerto Rican communities, recent demographic changes, problems in the schools. These topics were later combined under two categories: a brief history on the City of Holyoke and the current demographic and economic situation in the City. This process of developing broader categories resulted in the identification of eight primary and three

secondary themes. The primary themes focused on the perceptions of members of the Greater Holyoke Partnership concerning:

1. history of the City of Holyoke
2. current needs and challenges facing the City of Holyoke
3. professional motives for serving on the Greater
Holyoke Partnership
4. the Partnership's uniqueness
5. personal motives for serving on the Partnership
6. the development and evolution of the Partnership
7. needs of the Partnership
8. the future of the Partnership

Secondary themes focused on the selection of partners, personal gain from serving on the Partnership, and the partner's future involvement in Partnership activities.

Using these eight broad primary and three secondary themes, the researcher carefully examined each interview transcript for comments, opinions, beliefs, and noted supporting incidents. Documents and observations were also reviewed in this way. The researcher strived to present the findings in such a way as to balance description and analysis.

Validity of Study

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest four means for evaluating the trustworthiness and authoritativeness of qualitative research. The

researcher incorporated a variety of techniques based on Guba's criteria to determine the authoritativeness of his findings.

Credibility

Credibility is analogous to internal validity and refers to establishing confidence in the findings of subjects. To ensure credibility, Guba suggested that the researcher utilize the techniques of prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation and member checks. The researcher incorporated these techniques into his study in several ways. This study was undertaken during a two-year period which permitted the investigator sufficient time to learn about the Greater Holyoke Partnership and to participate in its activities. The opportunity, both formally and informally to observe members of the Partnership during these two years permitted the researcher to determine those factors that influenced the evolution of the Partnership.

Miles and Huberman (1984) describe triangulation as corroboration, cross-validation, or multiple validation procedures to ensure the dependability of a study's findings. According to Patton (1980), triangulation is achieved by comparing and cross-checking the consistency of information, "derived at different times and by different means within qualitative methods" (p. 330).

It means (1) comparing observational data with interview data; (2) comparing what people say in public with what they say in private; (3) checking for the consistency of what people in a situation say about this situation over time; and (4) comparing the perspectives of people from different points of view - staff views, client

views, funder views, and views expressed by people outside the program, where those are available to the evaluator. It means validating information obtained through interviews by checking program documents and other written evidence that can corroborate what interview respondents report (Patton, 1980, p. 330-331).

As Webb, Campbell, Schwart, and Sechrest (1966) have noted, "once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced." By using a combination of in-depth interviewing, document analysis, and participant observation, the investigator was able to cross-check his findings in this way.

Checking with those from whom the information was collected also helps to establish the credibility of findings. Following each of the first three interviews, the investigator discussed his initial impressions and findings with a member of the Partnership. The researcher also presented his initial findings at a regular monthly meeting of the Partnership to check his interpretations and tentative conclusions.

Transferability

Transferability is similar to external validity and requires the researcher to provide sufficient descriptive material to permit another researcher interested in making transferability judgments to make a decision whether doing so is possible. The investigator undertaking this study made every attempt to obtain and provide the broadest range of information available.

Dependability

Dependability, the equivalent of reliability in quantitative evaluation, refers to the stability and consistency of the research process during the course of the study. The researcher was careful to collect and evaluate the information in a consistent manner.

Confirmability

Confirmability, similar to objectivity, refers to whether the information obtained is confirmable. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that methods for establishing trustworthiness discussed earlier are appropriate in this case: prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, and member check. The investigator frequently discussed his preliminary findings with individuals associated with the Greater Holyoke Partnership to confirm the accuracy of the information that he had obtained.

Summary

A case study on the development of the Greater Holyoke Partnership was derived from data gathered using in-depth interviewing, document analysis, and participant observation. Qualitative research techniques were used to permit the researcher to develop a deeper understanding of the issues relating to the establishment of the Partnership. Identifying the essential elements and strategies for the development of the Greater Holyoke Partnership called for a research design that would allow for the discovery

of individual motives, beliefs, attitudes and opinions relating to the formation and operation of the Partnership.

In-depth interviews were conducted with 11 members of the Greater Holyoke Partnership between December 1989 and May 1990. The researcher also analyzed a variety of documents pertaining to the establishment and operation of the Partnership including planning documents, reports, discussion papers, minutes from regular monthly meetings, strategic reports, and memoranda. Finally, he attended numerous meetings as a participant observer from July 1989 to February 1991 including meetings of the full partnership, executive committee, and various sub-committees.

In analyzing the data, the researcher employed the inductive analytical approach to present information on themes that emerged from the data. Analysis of interview transcripts, documents and the researcher's observations resulted in the development of eight primary and three secondary themes. To present his findings, the researcher developed two broad categories. The first section included information gathered Holyoke's history, the City's current demographic and economic situation, and the founding of the Greater Holyoke Partnership. The second section discussed the characteristics of the Greater Holyoke Partnership and the strategies that were utilized in its establishment and operation.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

Information was obtained from several sources including in-depth interviews, document analysis, and participant observation. Eleven members of the Greater Holyoke Partnership were interviewed during the period from December 1989 to May 1990. Each interview was tape recorded and subsequently transcribed and the researcher's personal observations regarding the interview were also noted. Each interview was thoroughly analyzed and initial themes that emerged from the data were noted. Then, portions of each transcript that corresponded to a particular theme were grouped. The researcher subsequently examined each of the eleven interview transcriptions and from them developed a list of 20 themes that the subjects had addressed. These 20 themes were then combined into broader categories resulting in the identification of eight primary and three secondary themes. A similar process was used in examining planning documents, discussion papers, minutes of Partnership meetings, memoranda, sub-committee reports, executive committee meetings, and progress reports. In some instances, similar themes emerged which corresponded with those from the interviews with members of the Partnership. In other cases, the document analysis led to the identification of additional themes. Using the themes that had been identified the researcher again examined the interview transcripts, documents, and notes from personal observations for supporting incidents.

The researcher also observed regular monthly meetings of the Partnership, meetings of the Executive Committee, meetings of the higher education liaison group, and various Partnership activities over a two-year period. The researcher has developed two sections for the purpose of presenting and analyzing the data: (1) background information on the City of Holyoke and the Greater Holyoke Partnership; and (2) essential elements and strategies employed in the establishment and operation of the Greater Holyoke Partnership.

Section One: Information on Holyoke and the Greater Holyoke Partnership

The City of Holyoke: A Brief History

Acquiring furs had been the objective of the first Bay Colony traders who built their trading post on the Connecticut River. However, the colonists who later established a permanent settlement in this area were planters (Green, 1939). In 1660, the proprietors of Springfield were granted land on the western side of the Connecticut River, approximately half a mile below the Hadley Falls. Three years later, they assigned a portion of this land to an Irishman named Riley and it was from his nationality that the town took its original name of Ireland Parish. In 1850, by order of the Massachusetts General Court, Ireland Parish became Holyoke, a name chosen by the directors of the Hadley Falls Company, "who doubtless hoped that the Puritan label would lend the place more dignity (Green, p. 31)."

Holyoke's history was known to members of the Partnership. Several of the interviewees for this study noted that Holyoke was the result of deliberate planning. Members of the Partnership characterized Holyoke as a regional economic hub led by men with foresight. One respondent noted that, "It was one of the first planned cities in the United States. The people there saw a vision for the future." Another subject observed that, "Holyoke was one of the first cities laid out to be an industrial town and it was put here because it had power and water."

Between 1821 and 1843, Boston capitalists who had made their fortunes in the development of power from the Merrimack River and the building of Lowell and Lawrence set their sights on Holyoke. They envisioned even greater profits from harnessing the water from the Connecticut River and building an even larger cotton textile city (Green, 1939). The construction of two dams, one in 1823 and another with water power in 1849, attracted manufacturing to Holyoke and led to the development of textile, paper, grain and metal mills.

The plan for the development of the new city was indeed comprehensive involving as it did the ultimate construction of facilities for a sizeable center of habitation as well as for industrial production. In the course of a few brief years, more than two miles of canals were built, a considerable part of the total canal system that we know of Holyoke today (Green, 1939, p. 38)

Harper (1972) noted Holyoke's long history of great ethnic diversity. Already in 1850, Holyoke had to rely on a large influx of immigrants (Irish, French, Germans, Poles, Jews, and Italians) to work in the mills to keep pace with the phenomenal growth of the City. This great influx of

immigrants, mostly extremely poor, created complications. A cholera epidemic in 1849 combined with an increase in accidents left a large number of individuals in need of public assistance. In 1850, Holyoke with a population of 3,713 had 120 people who needed this kind of assistance (Green, 1939).

In the 1870s, Holyoke was already considered the "paper capital" of the United States and the world. By 1890, the city had 25 paper mills, employing 3,500 persons with income from paper that year totaling approximately \$11 million. In that same year, only 17 percent of Holyoke's population was American-born (Green, 1939; Harper, 1948). Just two other cities in the nation had a greater percentage of foreign-born residents.

However, Holyoke was not destined to remain the Paper City. By 1890, materials other than cotton fibers were being used in the production of paper. Wood was becoming an important part of the nation's papermaking industry. Relying on cotton fibers for the manufacturing of paper would not be sufficient to meet the needs of the country. It was inevitable that the pulpmaking and papermaking would locate where there was an abundance of timber: the Pacific Northwest and the Northeast in Maine (Harper). By 1917, Holyoke's population had risen to 63,000 and the City had attained its full industrial stature. It was clear that it would not become one of the nation's great industrial centers.

Holyoke might hold its own as a small manufacturing city, where adequate power, special knowledge of the manufacture of certain products, and a stable intelligent citizenry gave particular advantages. Otherwise, in economic realms such as cheap transportation and low tax rates, in social opportunities, in schooling, in housing facilities, the city had little to offer (Green, p. 249).

The Current Demographic and Economic Situation in Holyoke

Holyoke's population by 1917 stood at 63,000. Since that time, however, the population has steadily declined and now stands at approximately 40,700. Overall, Hispanics currently make up about a third of the general population and within the schools their proportion is far greater. According to the Racial Balance Report issued by the Holyoke Public Schools in October 1990 (Bernier, 1990), 63 percent of the students were Hispanic, 32 percent were white, four percent were African-American and one percent were Asian. In 1974, 80 percent of the students were white and only 15 percent were Hispanic. By 1996, the proportion of Hispanic students is expected to increase to 83 percent. For 36 percent of the students, their language of instruction is Spanish; 55 percent of them speak a first language other than English. The projected dropout rate in the schools is 37 percent over four years.

The changing demographics as well as the economic and social problems facing Holyoke have compounded the educational challenges that face the City. Currently, over 65 percent of the school population is eligible for Aid for Dependent Children and 68 percent of Hispanics live below the federal poverty line: the median income is \$6,580 compared to a state medium income in 1987 of \$21,000 (The Governor's Commission on Hispanic Affairs, 1990). About 3,000 families are currently on welfare. In 1990, 63 percent of Holyoke's children were eligible for free lunch, another indication of the high level of poverty in the City. Holyoke's birth rate for teen-age girls is among the highest in Massachusetts. More than 11 percent of teens

aged 15 to 19 delivered babies in 1987, a rate that is three times the state average.

Economically, Holyoke has been particularly hard hit. One of the interviewees, a long-time resident of the City, observed that:

At the beginning of World War II, there were probably 20-40 paper companies that were locally owned. And I would say today that there is probably only one paper manufacturer left in the community. This has had an awful impact on the community both on the ability to get jobs, but also from the image of the community as the paper city. It almost seems as if it was something that had been planned by the larger corporations.... To see the demise of industry during this period has been very upsetting....

Interviewees characterized Holyoke as a city that is suffering from serious urban blight and as a community that has lost its self-respect. One subject observed that the City had lost its identity. "Holyoke has never been able to step forward again after it lost its preeminence during the industrial era. You have a city that kind of shuffles along further mired in itself and losing all of its identity." Another interviewee noted that the leadership that characterized Holyoke during its formative years was not evident in 1990. Further, he predicted that if the people of Holyoke did not start working on a vision that, "Holyoke would be the first city in western Massachusetts that will die." A third member of the Partnership described Holyoke as, "a city that is very angry and very much down on itself." He was disturbed that residents let its problems with poverty, drugs, and the schools overshadow the good things that were happening in the City. He described Holyoke as being, "afraid of success" and that a sense

of guilt had developed among residents because, "too many bad things happen."

I remember driving through the City of Holyoke about four years ago. It was a hot time of day on High Street and I thought to myself, Oh my God, Holyoke is really in tough shape.... I hadn't really been in the center of the city probably for a decade. The next day coincidentally I was in Newark (NJ), my first time ever in Newark. I always thought of Newark as probably one of the most depressed cities in the northeast and I thought it was in better shape than Holyoke. Today, Newark looks better to me than Holyoke did yesterday. And I think that's the way Holyoke appears to a lot of the long-time residents of the city.

Several members of the Partnership described Holyoke's parochialism and its reluctance to look beyond its own borders for solutions to some of the city's most pressing problems. "We have people who are still practicing a strategy of self-containment during a time when we are living in an increasingly regional and global economy." Another interviewee characterized the relationship between Holyoke and the neighboring city of Springfield as two cities separated by the "Berlin Wall" where the business people do not relate to each other. "Holyoke has a housing partnership. It, too, has economic development, but the groups do not speak to each other. Everyone is doing their own thing in isolation. There is no coming together."

One interviewee observed that Holyoke seems to lack a tradition of public and private cooperation that is evident in cities such as Springfield. "Whenever you talk about Springfield, it's the business community together with the mayor and the city council. There's a great amount of trust and working together that doesn't exist in Holyoke yet."

The recent dramatic influx of Hispanics has generated considerable ethnic tension among longer-term residents of the City who blame Holyoke's problems on the Puerto Rican community. "You are not going to solve the problem by continuing to blame the Puerto Ricans," stated one member of the Partnership. Another spoke of the horror that some residents feel about the impact that this most recent wave of immigrants has had on the City. "The Irish who are proud of their city look at what they built and are horrified now to see it being torn down by its new inhabitants."

Yet, this influx of new immigrants is similar to the migration of other groups into the City before the turn of the century. According to one interviewee, "What's happening in Holyoke today is not much different from what happened in Holyoke 100 years ago. The foreigners who are inhabiting Holyoke today are largely from Puerto Rico and 100 years ago they were from Ireland."

Many subjects spoke of the tremendous demographic shift in population that has left Holyoke with an unusually large proportion of young and elderly. One interviewee described this demographic imbalance as "a formula for failure."

Another member expressed his concern about the demographics and the impact this would have on longer-term residents.

We have in Holyoke, I think, the highest, or one of the highest, percentages of over 65 population in the state. We have a high percentage of uneducated adults. We have a high percentage of subsidized housing.... The burden of support falls on very few people.

As Puerto Ricans moved into Holyoke, white, middle class families moved out. Several subjects speculated on the reason for this "white flight." One subject described the school system in the 1960s as being "still pretty good," but most people went off to college and never returned to Holyoke resulting in, "large empty blocks (of real estate) where new comers to the city could readily find housing." This subject went on to say that, "then some entrepreneurs, in the worst sense of the word, bought up these blocks, didn't care how they provided for people, but just warehoused them, and we're paying for it now."

Another interviewee attributed the continuing flight from the city of white residents to the situation in the schools. We are losing middle class families and they are leaving for a variety of reasons. One probably more than any other, I would guess would be the public school situation."

The flight of the middle class has also been accompanied by the departure of corporations, especially paper manufacturers. One partner who had personally been involved in trying to maintain Holyoke's corporate base speculated that, "there was a desire by the large paper companies to put the local companies out of business."

Ethnic tension has resulted from of this dramatic demographic shift. Longer-term residents are threatened by the great influx of young Hispanics and blame them for the City's problems. As one subject noted, "There is a sense that Holyoke has become a community for other ethnic groups and that has scared a lot of people." Another subject spoke of the hatred that exists between the whites and the Puerto Ricans. "A few years ago it was really bad. You'd walk down the street and you'd feel it. People were just spitting at each other."

Several respondents commented on the fear longer-term residents have of the downtown area.

There are people who are genuinely afraid to come downtown. People go into my church for choir practice on Thursday night and sometimes come out and find their windows smashed.... When we have meetings at night, especially those where the ladies attend, we ask the police to sweep the prostitutes from the street corners that are adjacent to the church. My mother died in 1985. I'm glad she never saw that.

Another partner said, "My office is downtown and I have people telling me we shouldn't be located there because some clients are frightened to come into the downtown area."

Another member of the Partnership described the response when a Hispanic is featured in the City's newspaper.

There are great levels of hostility out there. I can tell you that anytime the paper runs a feature picture of a Hispanic on page one or any front section of the newspaper, I can almost guarantee you that we will get from six to eight papers mailed back to us anonymously with people writing on them such things like, 'Who gives a damn what the spics are doing,' and 'why do you continue to feature spics.'

Still another interview subject referred to the feeling that, "whites have that Hispanics are taking over the community."

Although Puerto Ricans are just the most recent wave of immigrants who have flocked to Holyoke, they may be resented more than when the French, Poles, and Irish migrated to the city. As Harper (1973) has pointed out, the lack of understanding on the part of longer-term residents of the

customs and problems of the Puerto Ricans may help explain why they seemingly have encountered more difficulty.

People for some reason resent people speaking Spanish whereas they didn't resent people speaking Polish or French or in some instances the Irish. But today, people resent the great influx of Spanish-speaking people.... There were not a great deal of blacks coming into Holyoke but when they came in they spoke the same language and I don't think there was the same feeling that the blacks are taking over the community.

The significant percentage of Puerto Ricans who are receiving public assistance has also contributed to the tension in the community according to members of the Partnership.

They are happy people but I'm afraid we have a parade which starts up at the CARE Center (Community Adolescent Resource and Education Center) where pregnant and teenage mothers receive tender loving care. The next time you see them they are down at the WIC (Women Infants and Children) and then the next time they are down at the welfare office. They go around the track two or three times. You reward ignorance, promiscuity, sloth, whatever and in doing that you maintain the poverty system in this country.

He went on to compare the current situation with the Puerto Rican community and previous generations of groups who required public assistance. "In earlier days, accepting help was something people didn't do readily. Now we've created this society where it's your right and in doing that we've robbed people of an incentive."

Another partner spoke of the older residents' perception that those currently receiving public assistance are not, "making the efforts that were

made in the past to take themselves out of poverty. There has become an acceptance of that lifestyle."

This perception was echoed by another subject who noted that poverty in Holyoke, "existed in a structure that isn't stimulating the ascension from poverty." He went on to say:

They look at the city and then quickly say, 'they ruined it.' There is a divisiveness in Holyoke between the people who own property who don't want to pay any more taxes to educate 'them' (Hispanics) or to give 'them' what they feel they don't deserve now.

The tension surrounding this issue of welfare has also been acknowledged by historians of Holyoke. Harper (1973) cites welfare as the most sensitive issue in the city with respect to the Puerto Rican community. Earlier groups of immigrants faced the same kind of challenges that the Puerto Ricans are facing but they were less likely to accept charity or assistance.

Interviewees recognized the importance of addressing the demographic realities of Holyoke and the need to emphasize the positive aspects of diversity to the longer-term residents. As one member of the Partnership noted:

One of the challenges is to convince the taxpayers that it is in their own self-interest to make sure that we provide the opportunities to the newcomers in Holyoke and allow them to become productive members of society. If we don't, we're going to have a real problem.

Members of the Partnership also acknowledged the need to emphasize the positive aspects of Holyoke's ethnic diversity. One subject noted that, "You have to be able to sell that diversity, that ethnic diversity, in the schools as a positive and we haven't been able to do that as yet. The Partnership is the group that could do this but we haven't got that message out." Another subject advocated working more closely with the Puerto Rican community. "The Partnership needs to make sure that roadblocks are not put in place to prevent things from happening for the Puerto Rican community."

Interviewees also felt that the Puerto Rican residents must be encouraged to contribute more to the community. One subject noted, "Somehow we have to work at blending Hispanics together, getting them back on track and incorporating them into our City, into our systems. As for accomplishing this task, he went on to say, "We are going to have to find a way to blend the old traditional Holyoke and the last couple of waves of immigrants with the new wave of immigrants."

Another subject recognized the benefits that could be reaped by area employers if Holyoke could provide education to allow Hispanics to move directly into the workforce. "They will be providing a tremendous resource for business to grow in this area which will, of course, contribute to the whole economic environment of the Valley." The ability to do this depends on, "convincing the Puerto Rican community that it's really, in the long run, worthwhile to knuckle down and learn."

Another subject noted that the Puerto Rican community is looking for somebody else to develop programs from which they can benefit. He noted his concern about Puerto Ricans complaining that the City is not doing enough for them. Instead, members of the Puerto Rican community should think about

doing something for their City. As the subject noted, this approach is, "kind of a welfare program and that is not what is going to help the Hispanic community." He went on to say, "They ought to be looking at what they can put together as entrepreneurs to benefit their community."

The Establishment of the Greater Holyoke Partnership

One of the earliest discussion papers described the Greater Holyoke Partnership as an organization of, "public, private, and non-profit representatives whose purpose is to provide the leadership, resources and talent necessary to create significant economic and educational revitalization of the City of Holyoke" (See Appendix B). In addition, the initial organizers envisioned that representatives from business, higher education, and state and local government would serve on various task forces, "to prioritize and address concerns faced by the city." This early mission statement indicated that the intent of the Greater Holyoke Partnership would be to operate, "in a totally apolitical manner, focusing upon the best interests of the City at all times." Provisions were made for a chairperson to be elected to "serve for one year." This document also noted that the Donahue Institute for Governmental Services at the University of Massachusetts would assist and coordinate the work of the Partnership. The Institute was also given the responsibility of involving other, "units within the University and at other institutions to assist in the revitalization of Holyoke." Members of the Partnership were expected to make a, "significant personal commitment to insure its success."

During the second meeting of the Partnership held on September 1, 1988, members identified and prioritized the issues that would be addressed. The Partnership agreed to focus on three areas of concern in Holyoke: (1) education, (2) economic development, and (3) housing. A proposal, "Revitalizing the City of Holyoke: A Strategic Plan for Education, Economic Development, and Housing," was presented and discussed (See Appendix C). This document served as the basis for determining the following priorities:

Education

1. focus on improving the quality of education
2. look at innovative pilot programs for schools - not using existing school budget to fund programs but securing alternative sources of funds
3. examine ways business and industry can become more involved in the schools
4. develop projects whereby both adults and youth become involved in nurturing their leadership potential.

Economic Development

1. examine regional economic issues, not just Holyoke issues
2. look at ways to attract "new" business to the area and determine ways to keep existing business in the area

3. develop strategies to bring out the "best of Holyoke" and to create a sense of community in the City
4. review past studies on land availability and land use and consider potential areas of industrial development
5. investigate possibility of filling in canals to create more industrial space

Housing

1. compile demographics on the City
2. look at subsidized housing from a regional perspective rather than just a City perspective
3. consider ways to encourage people to be more responsible for their living space - create more commitment to caring for property

At the third meeting of the Partnership on October 6, 1988, sub-committees for education, economic development, and housing were formed chaired by three members of the Partnership. In addition, an ad hoc committee was established to create an educational trust fund for the City of Holyoke.

Section Two: Essential Elements of the Greater Holyoke Partnership

Analysis of information from in-depth interviews, Partnership documents, and participant observation revealed eight essential elements

that have been critical in the development and functioning of the Greater Holyoke Partnership. The eight factors are: (1) leadership, (2) identification and selection of partners, (3) focus and goals, (4) identifying common interests, (5) acquisition of resources, (6) recognition and publicity, (7) accountability and evaluation, and (8) sustaining momentum.

Leadership

Leadership skills of partnership directors and other high level members of such collaborative undertakings are critical to the success of partnerships (Brown, 1985; DeBevoise, 1986; Elsman, 1981; Hurwitz, 1982; Intriligator, 1986; and Powers, Powers, Betz & Aslanian, 1988).

Task Orientation. Leadership skills, especially those of the director, are critical to the success of a partnership. As Elsman (1981) pointed out, the director must see that things get done, maintain morale, be able to help others assume responsibility, and encourage all members to be involved.

The researcher noted both from documents and his personal observations at meetings that the Partnership experienced some difficulty following through on projects and assignments. A review of the minutes of regular meetings reveals a number of instances where certain actions were to be taken and few were.

At the March 2, 1989 meeting, one of the partners agreed to, "take the leadership on informing the Partnership of how to put together a 501 (c)(3)

to create a corporation with non-profit status in Massachusetts." At the following meeting in April, it was reported that the necessary papers had been filed and that the next step would be to, "file with the Internal Revenue Service for a federal non-profit number." The partner who had initially filed the paperwork was unable to complete this task because of an illness in his family. As of July 1991, the Partnership still had not yet received its 501 (c)(3) designation and is continuing to seek approval retroactively for non-profit status.

Not having the Internal Revenue Service approval for tax exempt status seriously limits the ability of the Partnership to acquire funds since this designation allows individuals and corporations to claim a charitable deduction for financial contributions. In addition, the Greater Holyoke Partnership may have to pay taxes on contributions that it received from individuals and corporations. In turn, contributors may not be able to claim their earlier gifts to the Partnerships as charitable contributions.

In another example, an independent secondary school had presented a proposal to the Partnership at one of its first meetings in November 1988 to support two Hispanic students from Holyoke to attend the school and for the school's teachers to work with Holyoke teachers in the areas of staff training and curriculum development. Concerns and questions about the proposal were discussed at that meeting and it was agreed that, "similar programs with other independent secondary schools needed to be explored and specific operational criteria" needed to be established before working with the school. There is no indication from the minutes or from the subsequent informal discussions with key partners that any additional action took place on the independent school's proposal.

At the October 5, 1989 meeting it was suggested that Senator Edward Kennedy, or an aide, be approached to "draw attention to Holyoke." One of the partners offered to look into this matter. Subsequent meeting minutes make no further reference to contact being made with Senator Kennedy or a member of his staff.

Lack of follow through is particularly evident in the efforts to generate financial resources and develop and implement a public relations plan for the Holyoke schools and the Partnership. The sections dealing with resource acquisition and recognition and publicity provide more information on the Partnership's efforts in these areas.

Encouraging Involvement. Jones and Malloy (1988) underscored the ongoing need for partnership directors to find ways to provide many individuals with opportunities to shape the course and direction of the partnership. Directors also need to sustain organizational commitment (Intriligator, 1986).

The leadership of the Partnership has had difficulty providing opportunities for all members to be involved. This was particularly apparent in the case of one partner who was very interested in education and brought with him partnership experience from his involvement in a business-school collaboration in a neighboring city. However, the education committee was already being chaired by a colleague. Consequently, the Partnership was not able to draw on the expertise and leadership of this individual and gradually he lost interest. One of the interviewees commented on this particular situation.

I know that he is very involved in what's going on in Springfield, particularly in business and education. It seems that he could bring a whole piece of that in. That's a touchy subject, I'm sure, looking at a model in Springfield. I think part of the problem here though is they ask him to serve on the housing committee and he agreed, but that is not his interest. His interest is really education, and yet another partner is the person doing education and doing a good job. The other partner is reluctant to move in there and do anything that would disrupt what is happening.

Instilling Ownership. Partnership leaders must also be able to instill a sense of ownership among partners and others involved in collaborative activities (Lacey & Kingsley, 1988; Powers et al., 1988; Shive, 1984). In the initial stage of a partnership, leadership depends largely upon individuals dedicated to the project. However, according to Lacey and Kingsley (1988), this commitment and enthusiasm must be shifted from the individuals involved to their organizations if the partnership is to sustain itself. In addition, Wilbur (1984) advocated that those affected by activities of a partnership need to feel a sense of ownership. Involving members of affected groups early in the development and implementation of programs will increase their acceptance of the program. In turn, this involvement will increase the likelihood of the partnership's success.

In the case of the Greater Holyoke Partnership, involvement by others employed in the organizations represented on the Partnership was limited. Consequently, there was little opportunity for a feeling of organizational ownership to develop. In addition to this problem, partners were, in some cases, losing influence within their own organizations. In one case, a partner retired. In another instance, one sold his business and stayed with the company but in a much less influential position in which he controlled

fewer resources. Finally, the dramatic downturn in the regional economy had an impact on the availability of personnel from organizations represented on the Partnership who could help support its activities. The efforts of these organizations needed to be focused solely on business concerns.

Pursuing Personal Agendas

Chaffee (1980) warned directors of partnerships to watch for attempts by individuals who wish to pursue only the agendas of their own organizations. Organizations that join partnerships just to further their own institutional goals can potentially compromise the effectiveness of collaborative efforts. Strong leadership is needed to discourage organizations from pursuing their own goals too aggressively.

One organization represented on the Greater Holyoke Partnership continually sought publicity and funding independently for a project that had been described as a Partnership activity. This independent public relations effort meant that the Partnership missed out on the possibility of some very helpful publicity. However, the impact on the Partnership in terms of fundraising was more serious. In August 1990, support staff to the Partnership and the superintendent of schools recommended that targeted corporations and foundations be approached by specific organizations represented on the Partnership. The intent of this recommendation was to make fundraising a joint effort. However, this collaborative effort failed when the institution continued to seek funding independently for its own project from grant-making organizations that were supposed to be approached by the Partnership for different purposes.

This same organization had also indicated they would contribute a staff person to work on behalf of the Partnership with the understanding that this individual would assist with some of the educational activities of the Partnership. However, once this person was hired, she did not work on behalf of the Partnership, but rather focused all her attention on one project for which the organization independently sought funding and publicity.

Identification and Selection of Partners

Identification of Partners. Analysis of early documents and of interview transcripts reveals that those who were looking for individuals to serve on the Partnership wanted people who were not over committed with other community responsibilities. Charter members of the Partnership also felt initially that it was important to select members who could be objective in their work and individuals who did not have overriding personal agendas. They also sought individuals who had been involved in similar efforts in Springfield. Banks and other financial services organizations were well represented on the Partnership, perhaps in the belief that these individuals and their organizations would be more likely to contribute financial resources to the Partnership given the recent financial success experienced by this business sector.

There were several unique features and characteristics about the Greater Holyoke Partnership that subjects found appealing. Several partners were attracted to the Partnership because they felt a greater sense of commitment among this group compared to other organizations on which

they served. One subject noted, "I think there is real interest, a real close linkage, between the group that sits at the table. There is more of a sense of trust here, more of a sense of commitment."

Subjects were impressed by the variety of organizations represented on the Partnership. One respondent, in noting the difference between the Greater Holyoke Partnership and a collaborative in Springfield, observed that, "having the mayor, the publisher of the newspaper and the Institute staff and their input is unusual. I can't think of anything like it in my experience in Springfield." Another subject observed that it was the first time that local citizens, representatives from government and area colleges and universities were all working on one project.

Several members were attracted to the Partnership because it attempts to address a number of critical issues facing the City of Holyoke. One interviewee noted that, "nobody like the Partnership is taking into consideration all those things that would lead to a better Holyoke." Another member commented: "The Partnership is directly addressing education, housing, and the economy, all at the same time.... It is a much broader perspective, longer term focus." The effort of the Partnership to collaborate with other organizations was essential for one partner who stated that, "the attempt to interrelate with other endeavors such as Valley 2000 is very important." Another respondent pointed out that, "We have been able to involve or attract ... other colleges in the area and have them interrelate with one another in different programs."

One partner has become involved because "nothing was getting done" in Holyoke. What was being accomplished to address the problems of the City

was being done in a, "fractional way.... There was no cohesion, no long-term planning being either conceived or affected. It just wasn't there."

One subject was impressed by the potential of private and public cooperation in the City.

I see that the Partnership truly has great potential in at least addressing the problems of Holyoke. I'm not sure that government alone can create the movement. The combination perhaps of public and private can do. And the Partnership provides that avenue.

Another partner observed that the Greater Holyoke Partnership might serve as a model. "The Partnership has the ingredients for being the example to other cities."

Although several authors (Clark, 1984; Mocker, Martin, & Brown, 1988) stressed the importance of individuals meeting "enlightened self-interests" through their involvement in collaborative activities, members of the Greater Holyoke Partnership seem most enthusiastic about the opportunity to address issues of great personal interest and concern. One respondent noted the importance of education to the region and the country. "I feel we are loosing the battle in education in this country. And unless we all get deeply involved in it, then we're getting to be much worse off as a nation." He went on to say that, "We've got to pay attention to how well children are doing in school vis-a-vis the rest of the world. If we don't do that, we're going to lose our place in the global economy." Another subject views the work of the Partnership as a way to address social challenges:

This was one thing that I could see that maybe can make a difference or I could make a contribution. It is more fundamental

than most of the things I have been involved in. This is about how you revitalize a society, how do you deal with the change in the makeup of a community and make certain you put in place the mechanisms that are going to produce a population which is clearly better off two decades from now or three decades from now than it otherwise would have been if you had allowed things to continue on a natural course. It's just very interesting, very challenging. I think this is more interesting than anything I've been involved with in the last 25 years.

Involvement in the Partnership provides other members with the opportunity to help improve the standard of living for the City's inhabitants. One subject stated, "I care about Holyoke because I have a Puerto Rican community living here that is not going anywhere." Another interviewee spoke of his desire to improve the living standard for residents of Holyoke.

I'm interested in improving the standards of life for everyone. If there is a situation here in Holyoke where people are finding themselves not getting an education as good as they might expect or intend to receive, then there is something we can do about that.

Another subject spoke of his desire to contribute to a better city, "one that is better economically, a city that ends up with better housing, a city that ends up with better education, a city that ends up being more together - a blending of the white and Hispanic communities."

Perhaps the most attractive and unique characteristic of the Partnership is the support it has received from the University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute for Governmental Services. The ability of the Institute staff to develop consensus and provide the follow through on projects was recognized and considered critical to whatever goals the

Partnership has achieved. One subject observed that, "Volunteers, for the most part, do not have the necessary time to bring something through a decision-making process to an end conclusion.... That's what the Donahue Institute is able to do in terms of this process-develop a concept, map it out, get reaction to it, reshape it, and then implement it."

Another partner acknowledged that without the support of the Donahue Institute the Partnership would have made little progress towards meeting its objectives. "I don't think for a minute we'd be where we are today without the constant monitoring of the Institute." A second subject echoed these sentiments. "Nothing would have happened to date without the efforts of the Institute." A third respondent said, "First of all, let me say that without the involvement of the people from the University, I don't think that we would have at all been able to get where we are."

The leadership abilities of the individuals involved and the non-political nature of the Greater Holyoke Partnership also attracted interviewees.

When it was described to me, it was one of the most worthwhile ventures that I thought I could get involved with. The people on this organization are people who have the capability of making things happen.

I was interested in becoming involved because I liked the people that were being brought together. If anything was going to happen, these were the people who were really willing to put a lot of energy into the effort. I feel that Holyoke is a manageable community.

Selection of Partners. Essential to successful collaboration is a group of high level leaders who commit people, political influence, and

funds to help accomplish the goals of the partnership (Lacey & Kingsley, 1988). These individuals have the power to remove bureaucratic obstructions and provide resources and incentives (DeBevoise, 1988). In addition as Gomez, Bissell, Danziger, and Casselman (1990) have observed, these leaders usually belong to a network that can provide additional support to the partnership. Elsman (1981) noted the importance of involving individuals who can gain access to community leaders. Wilbur (1984) advocated that members of the affected groups be involved in the early stages of planning. Levine and Trachtman (1988) also advised that planning and decision-making should involve a variety of people from many different levels.

According to the minutes of early Partnership meetings, members were selected to serve on the Greater Holyoke Partnership for their objectivity and their ability to devote the necessary time to this effort. It was also desirable that they not have overriding personal agendas and they were expected to commit, "significant personal resources to ensure the success of the Partnership."

Several subjects expressed concern about the representation on the Partnership and the need to involve other members of the community in this group.

I'm not sure the Partnership is really representative.... I have been somewhat surprised that some people in the community that I thought to be leaders and very much involved were not involved in the process.... If ultimately we want to create a groundswell of support for new concepts and a new vision of Holyoke, five people aren't going to do that.

Another member noted the Partnership's lack of diversity. "It's going to be a bunch of nice white males and females talking to each other about how wonderful their plans are." He later underscored the need to involve the Puerto Rican community in planning for Holyoke's future.

Nobody can do any planning for the future, setting an agenda for the Puerto Rican community, for the city of Holyoke without having the Puerto Rican community involved.... The Puerto Rican community has to be brought on board politically, economically, and educationally.... The minute that people have a piece of ownership, that ownership reinforces democracy, belief and hope and it reinforces things about yourself as a community.... The Partnership needs to start bringing other people in from the Puerto Rican community to discuss long-range implications with whoever is going to be the next mayor.

We need to involve more individuals from Holyoke. There is not a structure in place, aside from what the Institute is able to do. There is a need to get individuals and organizations in Holyoke to take responsibility for programs in the event that key players resign from the Partnership.

Subjects also recognized the need to involve other organizations in the Partnership and to incorporate what other collaboratives have done, especially in Springfield, to involve the business community.

I hope we can tap into Community 2000 so we can benefit from their research and funding and maybe some of their programs. Perhaps they could benefit from some of our thinking as well.... We should be watching Springfield. Five months ago, Springfield didn't have a school superintendent but through leadership we have created a sense of excitement inside and outside.

If the business community in Holyoke decided that they really wanted to be involved, we don't have to travel too far to learn how to do it. And, I think that is one of the things we should be paying more attention to the business community.

Several concerns about the selection and expectations of partners and representation on the Partnership are important to note. One of the considerations in selecting partners was to involve those organizations that could contribute both financial and human resources to support the activities of the Partnership. Financial institutions had generated handsome profits during most of the 1980s and not surprisingly these organizations were well represented on the Partnership. Of the initial eight members, five were banking or insurance company executives. But at the time the Partnership was being formed, New England was on the verge of a severe economic recession. Banks and other financial institutions were particularly hard hit. Perhaps, if the Partnership had more representation from other business sectors in Holyoke, it would have been less dependent on the financial well-being of the banks.

Although the business community was well represented on the Partnership, formal representation of the Holyoke schools and members of the Hispanic community was limited. Initially, the Partnership had one representative from the Hispanic community and none representing the City's schools, although the superintendent regularly attended monthly meetings as a guest. The lone Hispanic representative resigned in September 1989 and was replaced in January 1990. In August 1990, three additional Hispanics were invited to serve on the Partnership. The Holyoke Schools were not formally represented on the Partnership until the superintendent was

nominated and approved as a partner in August 1990. He was the only member of the school community who regularly attended meetings until a member of the school committee was asked to serve on the Partnership that same month.

Focus and Goals

Successful partnerships have clear and specific goals (Bell, 1984; Boyer, 1981; the Committee on Economic Development, 1987; Mocker, Martin, & Brown, 1988; Lieberman, 1985). Gomez et al., (1990), Gross (1987), Hathaway (1985), and Levine and Trachtman (1988), also advocated that the activities of a partnership should be sharply focused.

Concern about the need for more specific goals to help focus the efforts of the Greater Holyoke Partnership was expressed during the in-depth interviews, at the regular monthly meetings, and at the Partnership's retreat held in December 1990. One subject recognized the Partnership's potential to address the challenges facing Holyoke but went on to say, "There's a lot of opportunities here, but we've got to have a plan. We've got to have people buying into the plan and I think that is what we are missing right now."

Other interviewees spoke of their concern over the Partnership's lack of direction. "We have gotten off track and don't clearly know where we are going.... We haven't, for whatever reason, picked out what we want to see happen to a clear enough extent and then followed through on it and then to the City's benefit made it public." Another subject added, "We need to come up with some specific plans. People have to be clear as to what we are

about. The masters have to start making decisions about where we want to go with the plantation."

Another member suggested that the Partnership go through a planning process, "to look at what we've done so far. We need to set a goal for ourselves and decide who's going to do what and assign people to specific tasks."

We need to have a specific plan - here's where we are going to go, here's what we're going to do, and here's where we are going to do it, that kind of action system. That's missing right now. It's tough to communicate with anybody in this city as to what the Partnership is up to.... The Partnership would be an unbelievable success story if it dealt with some of the planning issues and started to provide a heavy implementation.

Well, I think we just never established clear goals for ourselves. And then we started, instead of at meetings discussing some difficult issues, setting up or making a decision as what we wanted to do with it and do it, we became an information gathering board, so to speak.

Although subjects viewed the breadth of the Partnership's mission as an attractive characteristic, they generally expressed a preference that the Partnership narrow its focus. One member encouraged the Partnership to avoid addressing too many challenges.

I think we should focus on no more than three objectives, or perhaps two. If education and housing are the two issues that this group can be helpful to the City on, then we should focus on that and not get spread out all over trying to do a lot of things and not accomplish anything.

A similar sentiment was expressed by another respondent:

If the Partnership is to succeed at all, it needs to focus on a couple of areas and not get spread out all around. What are our goals and objectives? ... I sense maybe a degree of uneasiness with the lack of specific goals. I think we have to have a game plan as to what we really expect to accomplish.

An interviewee suggested that the Partnership should perhaps concentrate less on economic development. "I almost wonder if one of the things we've got to say to ourselves is we're not interested in economic development."

I think there has to be a clearly defined goal for each one of these areas of concern. That is to say we can specifically go to the public and say that in the education field we have five specific objectives and we would like to accomplish them by raising funds.

Document analysis and the researcher's observations corroborated the concerns expressed about the clarity and prioritization of goals during the in-depth interviews. At the Partnership meeting on May 4, 1990, the Mission and Goal Statement for the Greater Holyoke Partnership was presented and discussed. Members were encouraged at that time to make the goal statements, "ultimately more quantifiable - results oriented and with timelines associated with them."

The lack of clarity concerning the goals of the Partnership was expressed in the discussion paper on restructuring the Partnership that was presented in June 1990.

The Partnership's program development efforts have expanded without an agreed upon and clearly articulated direction, focus or set of guidelines for prioritizing new initiatives. Further, coordination of the organization's administrative and programmatic operations has become extremely complex and difficult under the part-time contributed staffing arrangements currently being used. While the Partnership has sustained itself by securing the necessary financial and in-kind support for its activities, there is no long-term plan for expanding and diversifying the organization's fund-raising and resource development.

The discussion paper noted that preliminary feedback from the interviews indicated a, "need to determine whether the Partnership is operating in the most effective and efficient manner. It has become clear that a period of self-examination is in order."

Also at the June 1990 meeting, seven issues relating to the goals, role, and operational considerations of the Partnership were presented for discussion:

1. review of the mission and goals of the Partnership
2. long rang planning
3. role of the Partnership in the larger community
4. terms of office for partners
5. examination of current membership base
6. operational issues
7. development of committees and task forces

The Partnership recommended establishing committees to deal with the following areas: nominations, policy, long-range planning, public relations and marketing, programs, and fund-raising/resource development.

In reviewing the original mission and goals statement of the Partnership, the following questions were presented for discussion: Are the current mission and goal statements still appropriate? Can they be achieved? Is the Partnership trying to do too much? Should we narrow our focus to education? How might the housing and economic development goals be integrated into an educational focus?

After considering and discussing these issues, members of the Partnership agreed to narrow the focus of its mission. Education would become the top priority since this is the area that the Partnership has had the greatest impact. Housing would not be abandoned, but it would become a second priority. Economic development would be dropped since other community and regional groups were working on improving the regional economy.

Recommendations for organizational changes were also made. The Partnership would appoint an executive committee to nominate new members, further discuss structural concerns, and consider new bylaws for the Partnership. Members also decided to reduce the frequency of full meetings of the Partnership. These meetings would be replaced by executive committee and special task force meetings.

The focus of the Partnership was also discussed at the December 9, 1990 retreat. Three priority areas in education were identified: (1) internal/external public relations work for the Holyoke Public Schools; (2) further development of Headstart and Early Childhood Programs; and (3) advancement of telecommunications and technology in the school system. In the area of housing, members of the Partnership agreed that the Holyoke Housing Partnership would work toward hiring a coordinator and implementing

the recommendations of the executive summary presented to the Partnership in October 1989. Despite the Partnership's decision in June 1990 to drop economic development as a primary goal, members agreed that the Economic Development Sub-Committee would work on developing an action plan for the development of two downtown areas. Since that December 1990 meeting, there has been no action reported on these recommendations.

Enlightened Self-Interest and Other Motives

Corporations have several practical reasons for improving the quality of the schools in the communities in which they are located. There is a growing awareness on the part of American business that the nation's public schools are vital to the economic success of the nation (Timpane, 1984). Good schools can also help corporations recruit employees to the communities in which they have a presence (Levine & Trachtman, 1988). There are also economic motives for companies to be involved with education. Jones and Malloy (1988) noted that business spends over \$100 billion annually on employee training programs. High quality educational institutions will also mean that corporations will not have to invest huge financial resources in training and remedial programs. By becoming more involved with schools, corporations can transfer some of this expense to the public. Corporations also pay substantial taxes, a large portion of which supports public education. In New York City, for example, the business community contributes about 40 percent of the City's education budget (Purcell, 1981). Dorsten and Hollenbeck (1989) observed that corporate involvement in

education helps ensure that graduates are better prepared to meet the needs of employers.

Mocker et al. (1988) noted that collaboration works best when all organizations involved work on the basis of enlightened self-interest. Recognition by organizations of the benefits each would reap through their involvement was the motivation to initiate collaborative activities and to sustain such efforts. Doyle (1985) and Gomez et al. (1990) also emphasized the need for organizations to recognize their mutual self-interests in joining a partnership.

During interviews for this study, members of the Greater Holyoke Partnership noted the advantages that their involvement would mean for their employers.

In the end, there obviously would be benefits to participating in the Partnership. We are only a mirror of the economy of the cities and towns in which we do business. If Holyoke prospers then we will have our share of prosperity.... If we have a region that's moving forward in that people are challenged and excited about bringing new blood, and new types of companies, then everybody benefits.

Members of the Partnership noted the desire of their employer to be involved in the Holyoke community. One subject observed, "I felt the bank was obligated to play a role in the community." Another interviewee noted that, "All of our banks play a very important role in their various communities." Another subject noted his, "personal interest in seeing how much his organization can do to help the city of Holyoke." One Partner became involved in the Partnership, "because the person who asked me was involved in a business situation with me."

My organization's interest is a true interest in the City of Holyoke. Our whole lifeline is attached to the city, the problems of this community - and there are many of them as we are all aware-simply have to be addressed. I guess if I can use a medical term, they have to be fixed.

When asked about personal gain from his involvement in the Partnership, one subject noted that he did not think he would gain anything personally. He added, "I don't have any desire to build power bases. I have no desire to be the chair." Another partner said he didn't think he would gain more through his involvement with the Partnership than other organizations with which he was associated. "I am maybe in a position to help push the right button and provide a solution or model to take a look at." A third subject was impressed that, "There is no personal glory being sought by anyone."

Resource Acquisition

Financial resources must be generated on a continual basis for partnerships to be successful (Ascher, 1988; Hathaway, 1985; Jones & Malloy, 1988; Purcell, 1981; Sironik & Goodlad, 1988; Vivian, 1985). It is essential that the partnership chair, the director, and the chief executive officers devote a portion of their time to identifying and acquiring funds.

A review of minutes indicates that from its earliest meetings the Partnership was concerned about acquiring the necessary funds to support its activities. At their November 3, 1988 meeting, the Partnership discussed the establishment of the Educational Trust Fund, "to provide

support and assistance to the students, programs and staff of the Holyoke Public Schools." The Educational Trust Fund would be administered by a committee of five individuals appointed by the Chair of the Greater Holyoke Partnership and would be responsible, "for all aspects of the management of the Fund including generating resources and identification of areas for investment." According to the project manager, a partner was to have taken the lead on establishing the Fund; however, there is no record that such action was taken.

At their September 1989 meeting, members of the Partnership discussed the established of a second fund, the Tracy Kidder Fund, and the need to develop guidelines for its use. Members also agreed that a sub-committee comprised of partners and a staff member from the Donahue Institute, would develop these guidelines. This group reported at the next meeting on October 5, 1989 that Tracy Kidder planned to add money earned from his speaking engagements to the Fund. Following a meeting with him later that month, the sub-committee reported that he agreed to use the fund to support a Teacher Training Center in Holyoke. In addition, one of the partners arranged for his company to purchase and distribute copies of Tracy Kidder's book (Among Schoolchildren) at a discount with the money saved being contributed to the Fund.

There is no indication from the interviews or from the documents that guidelines for the use of these funds were presented for consideration by the Partnership. In addition, the partner who served on this sub-committee resigned from the Partnership after he accepted another job outside the area. As far as the researcher can determine, this sub-committee is no longer active and the Partnership is not making decisions on

the use of these funds. Approximately \$15,000 from these funds have been used to remodel the area that has been designated as the Teacher Training Center leaving some \$35,000 to spend on staff development activities for teachers and administrators. Holyoke school system personnel associated with the Teachers Training Center are currently assisting the Superintendent of Schools in making decisions regarding the use of these remaining funds.

The researcher's review of minutes from monthly meetings revealed that the Partnership had considerable difficulty in following through on fundraising initiatives. At the fourth meeting of the Partnership in December 1988, members agreed to develop a, "menu of program options so that people can have something specific to contribute to." The University was to, "facilitate the continuous development of the plan with the superintendent." At their January 4, 1989, meeting the Partnership agreed that budget figures would be assigned to the various program initiatives at their next meeting. Accordingly, a document entitled "Six Model Educational Programs Designed to Enhance the Quality of Education in the Holyoke Public School System" (See Appendix D) was distributed to the members of the Partnership at their February 2, 1989 meeting. This document included estimated budgets for each of the six programs, the total cost of which came to \$378,000. At the meeting on March 2, 1989 members received an update of the status of these programs. Of the six programs, four had individuals who had agreed to pursue funding for them.

The interim status report presented at their May 4, 1989 meeting revealed that partial support had been secured by the Partnership for the Road to Reading Program that was developed to help Holyoke teachers enhance their ability to teach children to read. Road to Reading initially received

\$15,000 from an organization that was represented on the Partnership. The corporate officer who was responsible for helping the Partnership obtain this grant was laid-off during the spring of 1991. No additional funds have been raised by the Partnership for this program; however, Road to Reading continues to operate in Holyoke on funds raised from other sources independent of the Partnership.

The May 1989 interim status report also indicated that the Management Training for School Administrators Program, later re-named the Teacher Training Center, had been fully funded as the result of receiving a three-year pledge of \$150,000 from an organization represented on the Partnership. During the summer of 1991, this company filed for bankruptcy having been extremely hard hit during the recession. In February 1987, the company's stock was valued at almost \$90 a share. By June 1991, the value of the stock had plummeted to less than a dollar a share. With such enormous fiscal difficulties, this company has not been able to make good on its three-year \$150,000 pledge. Since the Partnership had hired a director of the Teacher Training Center with this pledge of support, the inability of this corporation to continue paying its pledge resulted in this position being terminated.

In May 1989, agreement had been reached with two companies to secure the necessary resources for two additional programs, the Homework Center and the Job Oriented Academy. Still remaining to be funded was the Cross-Age Peer Tutoring Program and the Comprehensive Adolescent Health Education Program.

A corporation, not represented on the Partnership, had agreed to provide funds for the establishment of the Homework Center. Shortly after

this pledge of support, the company's chief executive officer left the company along with the corporation's promise to support this program. Consequently, the program was never established.

Another Holyoke based company, one that was not represented on the Partnership, had agreed to secure funds for "The Job-Oriented Academy," a program for high school juniors and seniors that combined classroom instruction with on-the-job experience. Fundraising efforts were not undertaken by corporate personnel and as a result this program was never launched.

The fifth program, "The Cross-Age Peer Tutoring Program" for high-risk students, was scheduled to be, "evaluated to determine the best way to approach this effort." A local financial institution represented on the Partnership contributed \$4,400 for 1990-91 and has pledged its continued support for this project.

It was agreed that funding possibilities for the "Comprehensive Adolescent Health Education Program" would, "be pursued by Partnership members and the University of Massachusetts." Proposals requesting support for this program have been submitted and fundraising efforts continue without direct support from the Partnership. The program director, an employee of the Holyoke Schools, has assumed the leadership role in working with community agencies to raise funds.

A seventh Partnership program, not included in the Six Model Educational Programs document, was the City Lights Program, a University of

Massachusetts initiative that received \$50,000 in support through the president's office of the University.

In the area of housing, \$2,500 was contributed in April 1989 by an area bank represented on the Partnership to help underwrite the cost of undertaking a housing study in the first attempt to gather data on all the housing stock in the city. At the September 7, 1989 meeting, the chair of that sub-committee reported a \$5,000 deficit and that, "work could not proceed until additional funds were raised to complete the study." The City benefitted from the initial study and subsequently funded a second study.

As of May 1989, \$39,400 had been contributed by businesses represented in the Partnership toward the estimated \$378,000 cost of the six programs. The researcher can find no indication in the minutes or from discussions with members of the Partnership that additional corporate contributions have been received since May of 1989. The Donahue Institute was the most generous contributor, having donated approximately \$260,000 to support the Partnership and its programs.

At the meeting of the Partnership on May 4, 1989, it was reported that Tracy Kidder's book Among Schoolchildren was scheduled for publication in September 1989. In addition, the Partnership was made aware of Tracy Kidder's interest in contributing to the Holyoke Public Schools, specifically towards programs and activities that would promote and enrich the classroom teacher. The minutes of that meeting noted that, "more work needs to be done by the Partnership members and school officials on how best to use this opportunity for publicizing the City of Holyoke nationwide." The desire for publicity was also expressed at the Partnership meeting on October 5, 1989. One partner noted that other sources were needed since the

funds donated by Tracy Kidder were designated specifically for teachers and that other funds for partnership activities had to be obtained. The suggestion was also made that large corporations such as Xerox should be contacted to support such educational programs. There is no indication that any action was taken on this suggestion.

Securing funds was also the subject of the meeting the following month on November 2, 1989. Recognizing that the Partnership might need information on specific steps concerning fundraising, representatives from the Donahue Institute presented a document entitled "Support Services Needed by the Greater Holyoke Partnership" at the November 2, 1989 meeting. A section of this document outlined specific steps that needed to be taken to generate financial resources.

1. develop and write concept papers
2. identify funding sources
3. visit funding agencies
4. write proposals
5. arrange for various types of support including endorsement letters and telephone calls
6. negotiate and receive grants, contracts and other resources
7. develop reports as needed for funding agencies

At that same meeting, a partner was assigned to chair a resource task force to, "assist in identifying and obtaining additional resources." Three other members were asked to serve on this task force. Following the distribution of the needs document, the Chairman of the Partnership agreed

to head the Resource Task Force. He was to meet with individual partners to solicit their ideas and support. There is no indication from the minutes that these meetings ever took place.

Resource acquisition was frequently discussed at meetings during 1990, but no specific action was taken to raise the necessary funds. Much of the February 1990 meeting was devoted to discussing the major issues that needed to be addressed by the Partnership including funding and marketing and public relations for the schools.

The need to develop more effective approaches to the task of generating resources was discussed at the Partnership's May 1990 meeting. Obtaining funding was one of ten concerns presented to the Partnership from the interviews that the researcher had conducted earlier that spring.

Finally, at the Partnership retreat on December 6, 1990, representatives from the University announced that the Donahue Institute would be unable to continue providing support staff to the Partnership due to budget reductions. Individual members pledged to explore potential sources of funding needed to underwrite the cost of operating the Partnership in 1991. As of May 1991, one partner had spoken to a grant-making organization about the possibility of a modest grant to the Partnership. No other partners made inquiries regarding funding.

When the Partnership was first established, its mission statement indicated that members were expected to make a significant personal commitment to the Partnership's success. Nevertheless, members of the Partnership were not asked directly to make a personal financial contribution to support its activities.

During interviews, partners expressed their understanding of the need for members to be involved in fundraising. One subject noted, "I think this board has to be somewhat of a fundraising board too. The people on this board can devote time ... raising funds that are going to be needed to carry out the projects that we're talking about." Another partner spoke of the need for the Partnership to develop a fundraising plan. "I think maybe its time for us to get our fundraising thoughts together.... We need to have plans as to how we're to get that money ... but before that I think we need to know how we plan to spend it."

Recognition and Publicity

The need to recognize those involved in partnerships is critical to their success according to Bailey (1986), Boyer (1981), and Hord (1986). A sense that the partnership is achieving its goals is also necessary, especially for senior executives who are committing time and resources. Elsman (1981) and Trubowitz et al. (1984) underscored the need for those involved to have a sense of forward motion and gratification.

Bailey (1986), Jones and Malloy (1988), Lacey and Kingsley (1988), and Purcell (1987) reported on the importance of generating publicity and obtaining endorsements from high ranking officials for the activities of the partnership. Such publicity provides recognition for those involved in the partnership and helps generate support from within the community.

One subject expressed his concern that partners needed more public recognition in order that their interest be sustained. "There has got to be some recognition for the partners," this individual stated. Another member

offered his observation: "I think people need some incentives. We need some reason to go to a meeting other than to talk about problems."

Several members expressed their concern that the Partnership had not received adequate recognition.

You've got some of the most qualified people in the state coming to a meeting once a month to do a fair amount of work behind the scenes and it is the best kept secret in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I mean that is something that you would hope people would hang their hat on, but there is such a cautious attitude.

In most cities or towns, the Greater Holyoke Partnership would be written and talked about every day and viewed as something very positive. You almost get a sense sitting at those meetings that people are embarrassed to be part of it, to let the world know what is being done, to stand up and take some credit and some pride in what they are trying to do.

Members of the Partnership also expressed concern with Holyoke's newspaper and its negative reporting on the City.

We have a newspaper that has been for the most part negative. We need to evolve a program of communication that is meaningful and constructive. We need to accept a very prominent public relation posture.

We have a local newspaper that is not an advocate of the city.... The Transcript is our voice of communication and it is not a proponent of the city. Most of the problems in Holyoke take place in a nine block radius and it probably gets 80 percent of the news. We have some beautiful areas in the City that just don't get the focus. People just read about the fire, drug deal, or stabbing in the nine block area and it just reinforces all the negativism.

The Holyoke paper is a nothing paper. It's got eight sheets, and most of the stuff I've read in the Globe in the morning anyway. The only things they report about Holyoke is who got arrested and who got shot.

This negative publicity helped the Partnership recognize the need to develop a public relations campaign for the Holyoke schools and the Partnership. Generating publicity and obtaining the support of the community was frequently discussed at Partnership meetings. On at least three separate occasions, sub-committees were appointed to develop a public relations campaign. The last effort to establish such a sub-committee was partially successful.

Mounting a public relations effort was first discussed at the Partnership's fourth meeting in December 1988. The membership agreed to, "develop a marketing and public relations campaign" to highlight the, "good things happening in the Holyoke Public Schools - to build some pride back into the city and the schools - and to elicit support for the Fund." The minutes of that December 1988 meeting stated that, "the University will facilitate the continuous development of the plan with the superintendent of schools." An article on the establishment of the Greater Holyoke Partnership did appear in the January 24, 1989 edition of the Holyoke Transcript-Telegram.

Publicity relating to the work of the Partnership was next discussed at the May 4, 1989 meeting when it was agreed that the Partnership's Interim Status Report, "could be shared with others and used to publicize the work of the Partnership." On May 22, 1989, an article entitled "Business Helps City Schools" appeared in the Holyoke Transcript-Telegram. Also discussed

at the May 4th meeting was the forthcoming publication of Tracy Kidder's book, Among School Children. This meeting also marked the second effort to form a committee to develop ideas as to how best to take advantage of this publicity for Holyoke. The researcher cannot determine from the minutes whether such a group was ever established.

The topic of publicity was next raised at the Partnership meeting on November 2, 1989 when a two-page document, "Support Services Needed by the Greater Holyoke Partnership" was distributed to the membership. One section addressed the documentation and dissemination of information on the activities and impact of the Partnership. Suggested activities included:

1. collecting information about Partnership activities
2. developing packets of information designed for specific audiences
3. disseminating information on a regular basis
4. designing, writing, and distributing a Partnership newsletter
5. assisting project personnel in developing and publishing articles
6. assisting project personnel in making presentations at conferences
7. designing and hosting conferences featuring Partnership activities

The Partnership agreed at its November 1988 meeting that, "good communication is essential both within the Partnership and in building support within the community." Partners suggested selecting a liaison from

the group to inform the community of Partnership activities. In addition, key groups such as the school committee and the Chamber of Commerce would be sent information about Partnership activities. There is no indication that the appointed liaison took action to inform the community of such activities.

Holyoke's negative perception about its schools was a topic of discussion at the Partnership's meeting in March 1990. Partners agreed that a lack of publicity contributed to the poor image of Holyoke and that this issue should be addressed by the Partnership. The membership also recommended establishing a public relations advisory committee to assist the Holyoke Public Schools in developing a public relations campaign. This marked the third effort to establish such a committee. This advisory committee was comprised of 10 members from the schools, area colleges, business, and a professional public relations consultant. This group met six times from March until August 1990 and then appeared to have disbanded.

At their first meeting, the advisory committee agreed to develop a brochure for the Holyoke community describing the schools. They also agreed that the Greater Holyoke Partnership would produce a quarterly newsletter to educate the general public about the role and activities of the Partnership. The first publication about the schools was completed and distributed. However, there is no indication that action was taken on the Partnership's quarterly newsletter.

By its fifth meeting in July of 1990, the advisory committee was questioning whether it should continue meeting. Committee members agreed that they would develop a successful communications policy for the Holyoke Public Schools and present their recommendations to the superintendent of

schools. The group urged that public relations be made a top priority for the 1990-91 school year. More specifically, the advisory committee recommended the establishment of a public relations office for the Holyoke schools staffed either by a full-time public relations professional or that these responsibilities be assigned to an existing staff person. The minutes indicate that this group met once more in August 1990. There is no indication that the school superintendent acted on the committee's recommendations.

On August 2, 1990, the Partnership again discussed the need to, "develop a communications process to outside groups-a mechanism to inform others about the work of the Partnership and then determine ways to marshall their support for Partnership activities." Members suggested that the Partnership host a series of luncheons, "to which business and key community leaders would be invited." Members agreed that the luncheons should be, "a positive vehicle to inform the community at large about the good things happening throughout the school system." No action was taken on this suggestion.

At the Partnership's retreat on December 6, 1990, partners agreed that public relations was one of three priority areas to focus on during the year. Specific strategies included: "getting the information out to the general public about positive things happening in the schools," including using cable television, hosting an open house for realtors, developing a public relations committee to help generate positive publicity, and developing a public relations and marketing plan. As of May 1991, no action has been taken on these recommendations.

Accountability and Evaluation

Ongoing evaluation is critical to help establish the credibility of partnerships (Wilbur, 1981). Evaluating collaborative activities is also important in order to modify and refine the goals of the partnerships. Assessing the effectiveness of programs is essential for providing concrete evidence that partnerships are affecting educational achievement (Clark, 1984; Gross, 1987; Vivian, 1985).

At one of their early meetings on October 8, 1988, the Partnership discussed the, "need for measurable goals and a clear accountability and tracking system to be part of any projects undertaken." Although this need was recognized, very little formal evaluation was undertaken on the effectiveness of Partnership activities.

Evaluation was not a topic that was discussed during interviews. However, the lack of accountability was a specific concern for one subject who suggested that, "The Partnership has to develop some better way of making everyone more accountable." The leadership style of the chair was such that he did not usually delegate assignments. On those few occasions when he did, it was without the expectation that members of the Partnership would report back to the group. The researcher would attribute much of the difficulty the Partnership experienced in accomplishing its objectives to the chair's reluctance to make individual members more accountable.

Sustaining Momentum

If partnerships are to sustain themselves, they must be prepared to cope with economic changes (Intriligator, 1986) as well as turnover among members and support staff. There must also be a sense of forward movement. Those involved must feel that they are achieving their stated goals (Trubowitz, 1984). Elsmann (1981) noted that there must be a sense of motion, a sense that more is going on than just talk.

The economic recession of 1990 dealt a severe blow to the Greater Holyoke Partnership as financial institutions, many of which were represented on the Partnership, were especially hard hit. Their stock value plummeted, severely limiting these organizations and the partners from contributing either financial or human resources to support the activities of the Partnership. For example, the stock of one corporation sold for \$88.75 in February 1987. By June of 1991, that same stock was valued at .50 cents a share. Clearly, such a dramatic decrease in value had an impact on the organization's ability to contribute personnel or financial resources to the Partnership. As a result, this particular company was not able to make good on its promise to provide financial support to the Partnership. Several partners had major stock holdings/options as part of their compensation packages and likely incurred heavy personal financial losses as the value of their stock holdings declined.

The leadership of a partnership must be prepared for the changing of personnel. The greater the degree of organizational ownership, the more likely the program will be able to sustain itself. Turnover on the Partnership, especially among the support staff, may have been a

significant factor in the Partnership's difficulties in accomplishing its mission.

The turnover of partners had been low during its first two years with only two resignations. Personal circumstances, such as the death of a partner's son, no doubt significantly affected this individual's ability to carry out assignments on behalf of the Partnership. Another partner, an elected official of the City and a key individual in the establishment of the Partnership, stepped down from his position when he was elected to the state senate. Nevertheless, he maintained his membership on the Partnership and continued attending meetings. However, the Partnership was without representation by a high ranking elected official from the City. Another partner resigned his position and took another job outside the area.

The lack of continuity among support staff, especially from the Donahue Institute, who provided such critical "behind-the-scenes" support had a greater impact on the functioning of the Partnership. The staff person from the Institute who served as the first project manager announced his resignation just prior to the end of 1989. His replacement, who had assisted the project manager earlier that fall, took a maternity leave during October, November, and December before assuming responsibility as project manager during the first week of January 1990. There was an abrupt staffing transition with insufficient time for the new project manager to be brought up to speed on programmatic activities before her predecessor left office.

During the in-depth interviews, many partners expressed concern that the Partnership did not appear to be moving forward. Some seemed frustrated by too much talk about the issues and not sufficient action. One subject

told the story of asking the program manager, "Now we've put all of this seed in the ground, when are we going to see some little green shoots?" He then answered his own question, "I don't know if those shoots are any higher right now than they were a year ago."

In terms of momentum and commitment, several interviewees commented on the lack of both: "We've got to just get more energy into this, get more life into it, get more commitment, get more focus and say we are going to be x and we are going to be it by y date." Another subject commented, "I think we really have to score a basket or a touchdown or win the playoffs to go to the next round, whatever. You can't sit around and talk about it much longer.... I have an uncomfortable feeling that everything is sort of in limbo."

Some people on the Partnership have basically given up....
There are really only three people who are doing something beyond going to meetings... The others come to meetings, but they don't have any obligation.

Another subject noted, "The membership has got to change. We've got some people who are making zero contribution. They sit there and occupy a seat." And, from another interviewee: "We are meeting every month. What are we accomplishing? Are we going anywhere?"

One subject speculated that there would not be a Partnership, "if things don't change in the next couple of meetings."

I personally get very frustrated and impatient and end up feeling that we are not moving forward quickly enough. I think there are just so many problems and the problems are so large that you can be overwhelmed by them. In fairness to the Partnership, it probably is much better going slowly, picking out those pieces of this big massive problem that we can fix.

I think one of the concerns I had was that we were moving very slowly at a snail's pace. But as I see it developing I can see the need for this slow movement because there is so much to attack.

I believe that some members are probably saying lets get on with it, what is our real goal and objective and lets see if we can reach some understanding and go forward. It's nice to talk about things month after month but lets get on with it. Let's see if we can accomplish something.

One interviewee criticized the Partnership for its cautiousness and its negative attitude.

A lot of people are very down on the City and are afraid of success. I think this attitude permeates the Greater Holyoke Partnership.... I think the general attitude of the City is a negative one, a 'no, we can't,' attitude. I would say that the attitude of the Partnership is 'No, we can't. The attitude on the Partnership is much too cautious.

Another subject expressed concern that the Partnership has worked behinds the scenes to such an extent that it has lost its impact. He encouraged the Partnership to, "step forward and take over."

Summary

Throughout its history, Holyoke has been a city of ethnic diversity; however, the most recent wave of Hispanics has generated considerable ethnic tension. Compounding the dramatic demographic changes that Holyoke has undergone in the past 20 years are serious economic and social problems.

There were a number of positive aspects about the Greater Holyoke Partnership that appealed to its members and made it unique. A group of influential members of the community as well as institutions of higher education had come together to address Holyoke's educational, economic, and housing needs. Although the problems in Holyoke mirrored those in the nation's urban centers, partners felt that the challenges were more manageable because of the City's small size. Members of the Partnership were impressed by it addressing three inter-related problems of education, economic development, and housing. The commitment by the Donahue Institute in supporting the various activities of the Partnership also appealed to members.

Detailed analysis of data gathered through in-depth interviews, documents, and participant observation resulted in the identification of eight factors that have influenced the establishment and operation of the Greater Holyoke Partnership. Leadership skills, especially those of the chairman, have been perhaps the most essential element in the evolution of the Partnership. Other important factors have been the selection of partners and representation from the community, the focus of the Partnership, recognition of the mutual benefits that participating organizations have reaped, and the difficulty the Partnership has

experienced in securing the necessary funds to support its activities. In addition, the Partnership's effectiveness has been limited by the lack of evaluation of its programs and an over-reliance on support from one organization, the University's Donahue Institute. Finally, the Partnership has experienced difficulty in responding to the drastic economic changes this region of the country has had to endure and a lack of continuity among the staff supporting the activities of the Partnership.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

In August of 1988, a group of leaders from business and industry, community organizations, local government, and colleges and universities established the Greater Holyoke Partnership to assist the City of Holyoke, Massachusetts in meeting its educational, economic, and housing needs. During the course of the next two years, the Partnership discussed the problems facing the City, assessed needs, formulated plans, implemented programs, and acquired resources to help the City of Holyoke.

The purpose of this study has been to identify those elements that have been important to the development of the Greater Holyoke Partnership and to determine whether there have been factors and circumstances that have limited the Partnership from achieving its full potential. Another purpose for undertaking this study has been to recommend modifications and changes to assist the Greater Holyoke Partnership in meeting its goals.

A thorough review of the literature resulted in the identification of eight elements critical to the successful formation and development of school-college-business partnerships: (1) strong leadership, (2) clear and sharply focused goals, (3) broad support, (4) clearly identified mutual needs and self-interests, (5) recognition of those involved in the partnership, (6) sufficient financial resources, (7) sustained momentum, and (8) evaluation of the impact of partnerships. The researcher in developing a case study on the development of the Greater Holyoke Partnership utilized

in-depth interviewing as a primary research method because this study focused on personal perceptions, opinions, beliefs, and experiences. Analysis of planning documents, articles of incorporation, minutes of meetings, discussion papers, memoranda, newspaper articles, and progress reports yielded additional data. The researcher's participation in and observation of monthly meetings of the full membership of the Partnership and various sub-committee meetings over a two-year period yielded additional data for this study. Utilizing an inductive analytical approach in analyzing the data, the investigator identified eight factors that have been essential to the development and operation of the Greater Holyoke Partnership.

Once considered the "Paper Capital" of the world in the late 1800s, the City of Holyoke has seen a gradual erosion of its manufacturing base and a decline in its population. Demographically, economically and socially, the City's problems mirror those of the nation's larger urban centers. The dropout rate in the schools is projected to be 37 percent over four years. More than 65 percent of the school population is eligible for Aid for Dependent Children and the City's birthrate for teen-age girls is among the highest in Massachusetts. With the tremendous economic difficulties facing the state, the Holyoke school system has had to reduce its budget dramatically. The most recent reduction in June of 1991 resulted in the dismissal of more than 200 of the City's 700 teachers.

Analysis of data from three sources - in-depth interviews, documents, and observations indicated - that leadership has been perhaps the most critical factor in the evolution of the Partnership. The ability to assign tasks and see that others involved in the Partnership carry out assignments

and meet deadlines is essential for partnerships to be effective. Efforts to acquire financial resources and generate publicity and support from the community are perhaps the best examples of the Partnership's lack of follow-through and accountability. Early in the development of the Partnership, members recognized and discussed the need to secure funding to support its activities and the need to mount a public relations campaign on behalf of the Partnership and the Holyoke Public Schools. Issues of support and publicity have been recurring themes during two years of meetings. The reluctance to act on these needs appears to have followed a pattern. The need to raise funds and to generate positive publicity for the Partnership would be discussed at a regular monthly Partnership meeting. An individual or committee would then be assigned to take specific action. No action would take place and the need for fund-raising and publicity would be discussed again at subsequent meetings.

Critical to successful partnerships is the ability of the chair to involve a range of individuals and instill among them, and the organizations they represent, a sense of ownership for the partnership. In the case of the Greater Holyoke Partnership, approximately six of the 12 members chaired standing or ad hoc committees. Six partners had no such responsibility. Such limited involvement meant that the talents and expertise of all partners was not fully utilized. The fact that not all partners have been involved equally may explain, in part, why a greater sense of ownership for the Greater Holyoke Partnership has not developed among its members.

Partnership directors must also take the lead in helping partners instill a sense of ownership within their organizations. The enthusiasm

that partners bring with them initially when a partnership is established must be transferred to others within their organizations. Involving individuals with different levels of responsibility from various departments is perhaps the most effective way of fostering organizational ownership. In the case of the Greater Holyoke Partnership, involvement by other employees of the representative organizations has been limited.

Organizations may have particular interests and motives for devoting resources to a collaborative effort. However, it is imperative that organizational interests be addressed within the context of goals of the partnership. Using a collaborative effort to meet only the specific objectives of an organization is likely to undercut the effectiveness of partnership activities. Strong leadership skills were needed on the Greater Holyoke Partnership when one organization sought funding independently for its own project from grant-making organizations that were to be approached by the Partnership. The potential for collaborative fund-raising for the Partnership was compromised.

The role of the chair has been critical in identifying and selecting individuals to serve on the Greater Holyoke Partnership. Throughout much of the 1980s, banks and other financial institutions reaped tremendous profits. Recruiting a number of partners from this sector seemed understandable from the standpoint of their potential to contribute both human and financial resources to support the work of the Partnership. However, had the leadership recruited members from a broader range of businesses, the Partnership may have been less vulnerable to the sudden economic downturn that left the financial institutions represented on the Partnership

struggling for their own survival and unable to contribute either financial or human resources to support the activities of the Partnership.

It is also important that those who are to be affected by the work of a collaborative be involved in planning and implementing programs. With Hispanics representing such a significant proportion of Holyoke's population, especially in the City's schools, it is surprising that only one Hispanic was initially represented on the Partnership. By October 1990, two years after the Partnership was first established, another member of the Hispanic community joined the Partnership. There has also been limited involvement by the Holyoke School System. Although the school superintendent attended most meetings of the Partnership, he did not become a member until October 1990. He was the lone representative from the schools until a school committee person was asked to join the Partnership at that same month. In addition to seeking broader representation from Holyoke, the Partnership leaders could have involved other area organizations, such as those concerned with the economic development. The Partnership could have also drawn on the experience of nearby Springfield which has recently launched the Springfield Business/Education Collaborative.

The focus of the Partnership in addressing education, economic development, and housing was considered an attractive and distinguishing characteristics by its members. At the same time, partners expressed concern that the mission was too broad and that resources were spread too thin. Concern was also expressed that within the three areas of education, housing and economic development that specific objectives were not decided upon and ranked in order of priority. In education, for example, there were

a number of initiatives launched but not as part of a stated goal of reducing the dropout rate by a certain annual percentage. Such specific goals might have appealed to members of the business community and helped the Partnership begin to measure the impact of its efforts on student retention. In December 1990, members of the Partnership agreed to very specific priorities that would be addressed. By then, however, momentum had been lost and no action was taken to address these priorities.

A review of the literature revealed that recognizing the benefits that each organization will reap by working in collaboration is an essential characteristic of effective partnerships. Although members of the Greater Holyoke Partnership realized that their involvement would further the interests of their organizations in general, they did not cite specific benefits that would result from their collaborative efforts. Partners seemed more motivated by a sincere desire to help the Holyoke community address its needs.

Several factors contributed to the difficulty the Partnership has experienced in securing funds to support its activities. The current economic recession had a severe impact on possible contributions that might have been forthcoming from Partnership organizations, especially banks and other financial institutions which were hardest hit. Despite the frequently mentioned concern at meetings for obtaining financial resources, there has been a reluctance by the Partnership in requesting support. The publication of Tracy Kidder's book Among Schoolchildren in September 1989, drawing national attention to the challenges facing teachers today, provided a tremendous opportunity to raise funds for the Partnership. However, actual requests for financial contributions from organizations represented

on the Partnership or from individual partners were few. Instead of taking action, sub-committees were formed, ideas were put forth, and individuals suggested possibilities. Compounding the Partnership's reluctance to raise the necessary funds, was the attempt by one participating organization to secure funds independently for a project from grant-making organizations that were to be approached by the Partnership. Most of the funds that have been raised have supported the educational activities of the Partnership. A total of \$39,400 was contributed by businesses represented on the Partnership to underwrite the estimated cost \$378,000 for six programs. The Donahue Institute and the University contributed approximately \$120,000 to support these programs and another \$140,000 over a two-year period in support of Partnership operations. Relying on such a narrow base of support left the Partnership without funds and staff support from the University when the Institute announced in December 1990 that it could not continue supporting the Partnership.

Partners recognized the need for positive publicity for the Holyoke Public Schools and the work of the Partnership, especially given the negative publicity that has been directed at the schools. During the first year of the Partnership, several articles describing the establishment and purpose of the Partnership appeared in Holyoke's newspaper. However, this publicity did not continue despite the fact that the publisher of the newspaper was a member of the Partnership. In addition, members of the Partnership tried several times to form public relations committees to develop and carry out publicity campaigns. The third such effort resulted in the establishment of a committee that met six times from March to August 1990. Before disbanding, this group made recommendations on which no

been the chair's desire for members of the Partnership to work behind the scenes and maintain a low profile. Doing so prevented the Partnership from generating support from the community which is critical to successful collaborations.

There has been a lack of accountability within the Partnership, especially concerning individual and committee assignments that were made. Without follow-up and a commitment to see that assignments were completed, good ideas and suggestions oftentimes did not get beyond the discussion stage. Even when the Institute presented its "Support Services Needed by the Greater Holyoke Partnership" document in November 1989, which outlined specific tasks that needed to be undertaken in areas such as fund-raising and public relations, action was not taken.

Although partners agreed at one of their earliest meetings that evaluation needed to be part of all projects undertaken, the impact of programs has not been assessed on a systematic basis. As a result it has not been possible to demonstrate the impact of programs to members of the Partnership, members of the Holyoke community, and grant-making organizations. Without such concrete evidence, the Greater Holyoke Partnership has not been able to make a compelling case to the public and potential funders.

Partnerships need to develop in such a way so that they can respond to changing economic circumstances and the turnover of individual members and support staff. Without such flexibility partnerships will not be able to sustain themselves. The current economic recession dramatically influenced the Greater Holyoke Partnership and the potential of generating the financial resources it needed. Turnover among members of the Partnership

did not have as critical an impact on its operation as the lack of continuity among the staff supporting the activities of the Partnership. A change in project managers in 1989-90 may have contributed to a sense by its members that the Partnership was not moving forward as quickly as some would have liked. The role that the Donahue Institute has played in providing essential "behind the scenes" support was acknowledged and appreciated by partners. In hindsight, however, it is possible that the Partnership relied too heavily on the Institute to develop and monitor programs, generate publicity, and contribute the necessary financial and human resources. Had the partners and their organizations provided more resources, the loss of Institute support may have not had such a dramatic impact on the Partnership.

Recommendations for the Greater Holyoke Partnership

As a result of the findings of this study, the researcher offers the following recommendations to strengthen the collaborative efforts of the Greater Holyoke Partnership and to enhance its effectiveness.

1. In the area of leadership, the researcher recommends that the Partnership limit the chair to the one-year term on which partners had originally agreed. In addition, the Partnership should consider appointing a co-chair or vice-chair to take specific responsibility for overseeing the work of committees and ensuring that assignments are carried out.

2. The leadership should involve all members of the Partnership in substantive ways to encourage a feeling of individual ownership among partners.
3. The leadership should direct members to involve individuals from their organizations to become involved in the Partnership and thereby foster a sense of organizational ownership.
4. The researcher recommends that additional representatives from groups affected by the work of the Partnership, especially from the Hispanic community, be invited to serve on the Partnership. Additional individuals from manufacturing businesses should be recruited to serve on the Partnership as well. Consideration should also be given to collaborating with other organizations (e.g., Valley 2000 and the Springfield Business/Education Collaboration) that are also addressing the challenges facing urban centers.
5. The Partnership should consider requiring businesses involved in the Partnership to contribute a significant amount of money at the time they join the Partnership or on an annual basis to help fund its activities. In addition, organizations should be required to contribute staff to support the work of the Partnership.
6. The Partnership has operated without the benefit of an independent director. In many respects representatives from the Donahue Institute fulfilled this role; however, those who have served in this capacity

have expressed the need for a director not affiliated with an organization on the Partnership who could assist the leadership in seeing that individual and committee assignments were made and carried out in a timely fashion. Such an individual could also assist in raising funds to support the activities of the Partnership.

7. The focus of the Partnership's efforts should be narrowly concentrated and carefully prioritized. Given the work of the Partnership in the area of education, it would seem appropriate for education to remain the Partnership's highest priority. Once the Partnership is certain that it can provide the necessary support for its educational programs, it should consider expanding its efforts in the area of housing and economic development.
8. Specific goals that address Holyoke's need as well as those of organizations represented on the Partnership should be developed. Goals should be quantifiable and stated in terms that partners and organizations represented on the Partnership understand.
9. More effort should be devoted to evaluating programs that have been launched by the Partnership to determine whether they are meeting the stated objectives. Demonstrating that programs are helping the Partnership achieve its goals will help generate positive publicity, recognition for the Partnership and its members, and the necessary financial resources.

10. Given the importance of acquiring financial support, the Partnership should consider establishing a standing committee to secure the necessary funding to support its activities. Such a committee could also take responsibility for public relations and make certain that members are kept informed about the Partnership's successes.

Recommendations for Establishing and Sustaining Partnerships

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher offers several recommendations to enhance the effectiveness of school-college-business partnerships.

1. Committed leaders are critical to establishing and sustaining a successful partnership. The leadership must be sensitive to the needs of a broad range of individuals who become involved in a partnership and to the differences among the organizations they represent. The director of a collaborative must be adept at promoting communication among individuals represented on the partnership and have the ability to foster a sense of cohesiveness within a group of partners, each of whom may have different motives for becoming involved in a collaborative undertaking. A partnership director must also be skilled in obtaining and nurturing the commitment of those who will be involved in the collaborative undertaking. This individual must create a positive image for a partnership and consistently communicate its benefits to those involved, their organizations, and to the broader community. Partnership leaders must have the ability to draw ideas

from others and obtain consensus on the needs and the most appropriate way to address the common problems that have been identified. It is critical that the partnership director be able to sustain the individual and organizational commitment.

2. Mutually agreed upon goals should be clearly identified and based on the interests of the organizations and individuals involved. Specific objectives should be based on a common understanding among those organizations involved of the problems that need to be addressed. Goals should be developed that are specific, measurable, and stated in terms that all partners and participating organizations understand.

3. In order for a partnership to succeed in the short- and long-term, funds to underwrite its activities must be sought continually. The researcher recommends that when participating organizations are invited to participate in a collaborative undertaking that they should be required to make a significant commitment of financial resources. Because the acquisition of funds is such a critical factor, the researcher suggests that the partnership director assume responsibility for overseeing the acquisition of financial support. Depending on size, a partnership might consider establishing a standing committee that includes individuals with fundraising expertise.

4. Related to the need for a partnership to raise sufficient resources is the need to generate publicity about its plans, activities, and accomplishments. Such an effort will help generate support within the

community and provide a means of recognizing the work and contributions of those involved in a partnership.

5. The selection of individuals who will represent their organizations on a partnership is critical to the success of a collaborative undertaking. Partners should be chosen on the basis of their recognition of the benefits, to themselves and their organizations, that their involvement will bring. These individuals should be in the highest ranking positions within their organizations to be able to commit financial and human resources. They should also be highly respected within their community and have substantial political influence to help the collaborative effort achieve its objectives. Also related to the selection of individuals who will work on behalf of a partnership is the need to make sure that the partnership is representative of the community. For example, if the primary goal of a collaborative undertaking is to address the needs of public school teachers, then members of this group should be involved in the planning and implementing of such programs. Such involvement will help foster a sense of ownership for the partnership and its activities. Once individuals have been recruited to serve as the core leadership for a partnership, it is critical that they then be given substantive assignments. The talents, knowledge, and resources that leaders bring with them must be fully utilized to foster and sustain their commitment to the partnership.

The investigator encourages those undertaking the establishment of a partnership to select individuals from a broad range of organizations that have common interests and concerns. Membership should not be limited only to those organizations that can contribute financial resources.

Partnerships will be less vulnerable to economic downturns if their membership is comprised of individuals from a broad range of organizations. Furthermore, there should be a good cross-section of businesses that are involved in a partnership so that in times of economic uncertainty a partnership is not overly dependent on the resources of one particular business sector. For example, a partnership comprised primarily of representatives from banks and other financial service corporations may find itself with limited resources during economic downturns that have an especially negative impact on the financial services sector.

While altruism is a noble motive for an organization participating in a partnership, such concern for only the welfare of others is not sufficient if a collaborative effort is to succeed in the long-term. The decision to commit human and financial resources to a partnership must be based on the participating organization's goals or strategic plan. Such motivation for involvement will help ensure that an organization's involvement will not be too dependent on good intentions. Involvement based on "bottom line" considerations will also help a partnership withstand economic downturns, since socially beneficial programs are often the first areas to undergo financial cutbacks during economically difficult times.

6. Involvement in supporting the activities of a partnership must extend beyond the individual who is representing his/her organization. The enthusiasm that a chief-executive-officer has for a collaborative undertaking must be transferred to individuals at a variety of levels within the organization. By promoting broad organizational involvement, a

partnership will be less vulnerable to turnover among individuals within an organization who are working on behalf of the collaborative.

7. Finally, a successful partnership must consistently evaluate the impact of its programs and be able to document that its efforts are indeed addressing the mutually agreed on goals. For example, if the primary goal is to increase access to higher education for students of color, then the results of such an effort should be measured to determine if greater numbers of minority students are in fact continuing their educations. Unless partnerships can document that they are indeed meeting very specific goals, then the task of acquiring financial resources and generating community support will be far more difficult

Recommendations for Further Study

There are a number of topics for further study that would yield additional insights into the development of the Greater Holyoke Partnership and provide more information on the essential elements and strategies that are necessary for successful partnerships.

In-depth interviews for this study were conducted from December 1989 to May 1990 at a time when the Partnership had considerable momentum. Conducting a series of follow-up interviews to determine how perceptions have changed since that time would provide additional data on the Partnership's development. It would be especially interesting to investigate how the changing financial circumstances of partners affected their commitment to the activities of the Partnership.

Since leadership has been identified as such a critical factor in the development of the Greater Holyoke Partnership, the leadership and management skills of those involved in the Partnership could be examined to determine how they influenced the development of the Partnership. Leadership within the Greater Holyoke Partnership could be compared and contrasted with leadership in similar partnerships.

Concern was expressed by members of the Partnership that efforts be undertaken to generate support from members of the Holyoke community. Surveying leaders in the City of Holyoke who have not been directly involved in the Partnership to determine their perceptions of the Partnership and its effectiveness in addressing the problems of the City could provide useful feedback.

This case study focused only on the Greater Holyoke Partnership. Another topic for further study could compare and contrast the establishment of the Greater Holyoke Partnership with a similar collaborative effort, such as the Springfield Business/Education Collaborative. It would be interesting to examine this other partnership to determine whether the same or different strategies were utilized in its development and if there have been different outcomes. The Springfield Business/Education Collaborative seems to have generated a greater commitment on the part of Springfield corporations. If this is indeed the case, then it would be interesting to examine whether different strategies were utilized in obtaining this support.

Concluding Remarks About the Greater Holyoke Partnership

In December of 1990, representatives from the Donahue Institute announced that they could no longer provide staff or financial support for the Partnership due to budget cutbacks at the University of Massachusetts. Since that time there has been very little Partnership activity. One meeting was held in February 1991 which was attended by four members. Another meeting was scheduled for April but was cancelled at the last minute by the chair. Given the current economic climate and its impact on individuals and organizations that have been associated with the Partnership, as well as the loss of administrative support from the University of Massachusetts, the future of the Greater Holyoke Partnership is very uncertain. There is a great need for such a collaborative approach to assist the City of Holyoke address its needs, especially in light of the defeat of a recent tax override referendum that has resulted in the dismissal of more than 200 of the City's 700 remaining teachers. The researcher earnestly hopes that the Greater Holyoke Partnership, or a similar collaborative effort, will continue to assist the City address its needs. He further hopes that the recommendations of this study will prove useful to those who continue the work of the Greater Holyoke Partnership or launch a new collaborative effort.

APPENDIX A
SAMPLE INTERVIEW GUIDE

SAMPLE INTERVIEW GUIDE

I. Background Information

1. What are your perceptions of Holyoke - its needs and the challenges it faces?
2. What has been your professional involvement with Holyoke?
3. How are you involved as a volunteer in Holyoke and in the surrounding area?

II. Involvement With the Greater Holyoke Partnership

1. How and by whom were you approached to join the Partnership?
2. How have you been involved to date?
3. What led to your decision to become involved with the Partnership?
4. How is your involvement addressing your professional concerns and those of your employer?
5. How is your involvement addressing your personal concerns about Holyoke?
6. What are your observations about the development of the Partnership to date?
7. How is it unique from other organizations that are helping Holyoke?

III. The Future of the Partnership

1. How do you hope to be involved with the Partnership?
2. How would you like to see your employer involved?
3. How would you like to see the Partnership move forward from this point?

APPENDIX B

GREATER HOLYOKE PARTNERSHIP MISSION STATEMENT

GREATER HOLYOKE PARTNERSHIP MISSION STATEMENT

The Greater Holyoke Partnership is an organization of public, private and non-profit representatives whose purpose is to provide the leadership, resources and talent necessary to create a significant economic and educational impact upon the City of Holyoke. Conceived by the Mayor of the City, the Greater Holyoke Partnership is committed to the long-term growth and development of Holyoke, the quality of life of its residents and the education of its children.

Representatives from business and industry, state and local government and higher education will serve on various task forces to prioritize and address concerns faced by the City. As major issues affecting the City become clearly identified and addressed by task force members, resources and talented generated by this special partnership will be focused upon providing meaningful solutions. Issues addressed in this way will, of necessity, impact upon all sectors of the community.

The Greater Holyoke Partnership will work closely with representatives of Holyoke City government and community organizations. It is the intent of the Partnership to operate in a totally apolitical manner, focusing upon the best interests of the City at all times.

The work of the Partnership will be assisted and coordinated by the Institute for Governmental Services of the University of Massachusetts. The Institute will also focus upon attracting talent from the University and other units of higher education in the Commonwealth to aid in the revitalization of the City of Holyoke.

The Greater Holyoke Partnership is a creative and ambitious commitment to the future of the City of Holyoke. Members of the Partnership are expected to make a significant personal commitment to insure its success. This vision, talent, and resources which they will bring to this process will serve the future of the City well.

APPENDIX C

REVITALIZING THE CITY OF HOLYOKE: A STRATEGIC PLAN FOR EDUCATION, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND HOUSING

REVITALIZING THE CITY OF HOLYOKE: A STRATEGIC PLAN FOR EDUCATION, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND HOUSING

I. Summary Statement

A change in administration, coupled with substantial interest in Holyoke's future among a new group of business and community leaders, provides the City with a significant opportunity for revitalization. Specifically, the potential exists for renewal of the City's economy, improved housing for low and middle-income people, and quality education in the public school system.

In a real sense, education, housing and the vitality of an urban economy are the common denominators of revitalization. The retention and attraction of business often depends upon good, quality schools, and a solid and affordable housing stock. Education provides the resources for a skilled and intelligent workforce, while a plentiful supply of market rate and affordable housing allows people the opportunity to live and work in their community.

Although new leadership and a general consensus on the need for revitalization are crucial ingredients for Holyoke, a necessary third element for successfully revitalizing the City is a Strategic Plan. The emphasis on strategic underscores the need for setting priorities and harnessing the resources and capacity of the City and business community around specific problems and opportunities. And a plan creates a blueprint for action that could direct revitalization efforts for at least the next 5 - 7 years.

II. A Strategic Plan for Holyoke

1. Collecting and analyzing relevant data on the City's educational system, housing stock and economic base;
2. Based on the data and analysis, formulating a very specific and targeted action plan;
3. Execution of the strategic plan.

Following are examples of the kind of data collection, analysis and strategic action plans suggested for Holyoke. A more definitive and detailed outline will, of necessity, be developed in conjunction with the Mayor's Office and representatives from the larger community.

Education

- An analysis of student academic achievement, particularly among minority students, in conjunction with student attendance, drop out and participation at higher schools of academic level.

- An assessment of professional growth needs, and the development of a strategy to recruit teachers and future teachers into urban school districts.
- An analysis of the current teaching force as it relates to age, race, ethnicity, salary, and other indicators needed for future planning.
- An analysis of parent and community interest and support of the public schools, and their role in making them more effective.
- An analysis of how budget is related to educational programs and what impact they are having.
- An assessment of how the public schools can promote the diversity of its multicultural student population.
- An analysis of how limited English speaking minority students, acquire oral, written and english reading skills.
- A support to the public schools of Holyoke in its transition to the middle school philosophy and in the development and planning for its long range building plan.
- An analysis of how health and health related issues effect learning, student attendance, drop out, and special education services.
- An analysis of student attendance patterns and transitory impact on learning, and student attendance.
- An analysis of how limited English proficient students are tested and assessed for grade placement and special education services.

Economic Development

- A profile of Holyoke's current economic base: major business and industrial sectors; employment, unemployment and underemployment patterns; wage and income rates, etc.
- An assessment of the City's economic development infrastructure: human and financial capital resources; transportation system; space and land available for development; educational and training systems; existing development resources and capacities.
- An examination of the City's industrial base, including: an assessment of the constraints and opportunities for growth and expansion, and a blueprint for securing a more competitive position for the City's manufacturers (e.g. quality and productivity enhancement, technology transfer, product development, and adoption of computer-based production systems...)

- An examination of the current labor shortage, and its' impact on the stability and growth of the City's business and industry. Also included would be an evaluation of the existing job training and education programs, their relationship to the needs of the City's businesses, as well as a series of recommendations which public and private officials can undertake to address the problem.
- A detailed strategy for expanding the City's economic development resources and capacity. Such a strategy would include accessing the region's higher educational institutions, the appropriate state government agencies and development program, as well as the relevant federal programs specifically targeted for urban areas like Holyoke.

Housing

- An inventory of Holyoke's housing stock: total units, age of buildings, number of single family vs. multi-family dwellings, breakdown and classification of rental and subsidized units.
- Analysis of the economics of housing in Holyoke: number of real estate sales, average cost of housing (buying and renting), trends of housing and land prices in last 5-10 years, projections for the future, and relative strengths and weaknesses of infrastructure.
- Determination of short-term and intermediate range initiatives that could address critical needs: transitional housing and/or shelter for homeless, creation of limited equity home ownership program, development of formal Housing Partnership to access targeted state funding, inventory of open land and abandoned buildings that could be used by the City for expanding and rehabilitating housing for low-income residents.
- Profile of the principal housing-related organizations, agencies and institutions including, but not limited to, community development corporations, city agencies, landlord associations, community groups, realtors, developers, bankers, etc. Such a profile would help the City to develop an effective means of channeling local, state and federal resources.
- Detailed description and analysis of regional, state, federal and national (non-profit organizations, foundation) resources that Holyoke could access for short and long-term housing initiatives: Mass. Housing Partnership, Mass. Government Land Bank, Community Development Finance Corporation, Mass. Housing Finance Agency, the Catholic Church's Campaign for Human Development, relevant federal housing programs and national organizations, such as the Institute for Community Economics, the Ford Foundation, etc.

III. Process

Through the Institute for Governmental Services, a team of faculty, staff, graduate students, and consultants, will be assembled to compile the necessary data, carry out research activities, and prepare the Strategic Plan. The assistance and resources of the Mayor's Office will be extremely important in this initial phase, as will the cooperation of key City agencies and staff.

Additionally, a strategic planning process of this nature is most effective when key representatives from the business, labor, educational and social services communities are actively involved. This kind of broad representation insures that a mechanism has been created to channel the contribution of business and community leaders. It gives the planning process the visibility and credibility it needs, and it establishes a legitimate group of individuals ready to carry out the recommendations contained in the Strategic Plan. Such a general consensus group also serves as a powerful tool for the City in its efforts to secure state and federal resources.

In this context, it is anticipated that business and community representatives will play an important advisory role in the process.

APPENDIX D

SIX MODEL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO ENHANCE THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION IN THE HOLYOKE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

SIX MODEL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO ENHANCE THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION IN THE HOLYOKE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

Introduction

The education of the youth of Holyoke is a shared responsibility of the school, community, and home. The commitment of the school system certainly represents a major effort in this regard; however, the support and cooperation of various community groups, institutions, and business and industry are essential for success.

The Holyoke Public Schools, in collaboration with the Greater Holyoke Partnership and the University of Massachusetts, Institute for Governmental Services, is committed to improving the totality of education for the students in the Holyoke Public School System. Through various program initiatives, this group is working toward two major goals: (1) improving the life opportunities for Holyoke's youth; and (2) increasing capacity within the school system to achieve excellence in education. By incorporating the participation of and mobilizing the resources of the business and educational communities in its efforts, the Holyoke Public School System will achieve its goal of enhancing the quality of education in Holyoke's urban schools and classrooms.

The following reflects six specific model educational programs designated for the Holyoke Public School System. Each program is detailed, providing a program description, plan, benefits, documentation and evaluation information, and an estimated budget. The success of each initiative will serve to augment the educational experience for many of Holyoke's students.

"Road to Reading" Program

Description - "The Road to Reading" Program will be a collaborative project between the Holyoke Public Schools and the Integrated Day Teacher Education Program at the University of Massachusetts School of Education. The program is designated to help teachers in the Holyoke Schools enhance their knowledge and appreciation of outstanding literature for children. Further, the program will update teachers' ability to teach young children to read through the use of materials beyond the basal. Quality literature is introduced to young children and students learn to appreciate the benefits to be gained from reading.

Plan - A Steering Committee of administrators, teachers, faculty, parents, and community representatives will help in the planning and implementation

of the program. To begin the project, the teachers will attend an initial two-week summer workshop to learn about the approach and the skills needed to implement it. Monthly workshops will be provided throughout the year. Support personnel include: resource people (trained graduate students), student teachers (trained undergraduates), and people to read to and listen to the children read on a daily basis (elderly, older children, parents).

A concurrent program will be conducted to involve parents more actively in their children's education. Included will be conveying to parents some of the appropriate techniques for assisting in their children's reading progress.

Reaching children who come from families where there is little or no reading at home, where the income level is low, and where English is not the primary language will be the focus of the program. Children will be provided with books that include characters of many ethnic and cultural backgrounds, particularly Hispanic and Black. It has been demonstrated that when this type of program is operating, children learn to read and write with increased skill and enjoyment, and that their ability scores and self-esteem rise significantly.

Benefits - Benefits to be recognized from the program:

- teachers will acquire a greater ability to teach young children to read, using materials beyond the basal
- children's reading scores will improve on all of the tests they currently take
- children will be exposed to more good literature
- more of the overall curriculum will involve the use of literature
- children will feel better about themselves as competent readers and writers
- parents will motivate and work with their children at home

Documentation and Evaluation - Documentation will begin at the entry level and continue over the course of the year. Qualitative and quantitative evaluation measures will be used to document and evaluate both attitudinal and behavioral changes of teachers, children, and parents.

Estimated Budget - \$7,000 per classroom per year with a minimum of 2 classes per building to cover the costs of personnel, support services, training workshops, and curriculum materials.

Homework Center

Description - The space and quiet often required for students to concentrate on school work will be provided for them after school. The center will provide supervision, guidance and an environment for students to complete school work. Many students live in overcrowded housing, where there is little access to a place suitable for studying. Even if students have space, often they do not have the support, either in the form of basic reference books or their parents do not have the education to help them with their homework problems or do not encourage them to study. For children who are not economically deprived, the center would provide the means to get more individual attention than is possible in a conventional classroom.

Plan - A "model" for a homework center will be established in one school on a trial basis. A teacher from the school systems will coordinate the effort. The center will be staffed by teachers or graduate students from the University of Massachusetts. It is feasible that older students using the center would be encouraged to assist younger students with their school work. Basic educational reference materials, hardware, and supplies will be provided to the students while working at the center. Every effort will be made to make the center attractive, comfortable and a popular place to go after school.

Benefits - Benefits to be recognized from the homework center:

- students will get individual attention and the support they need to complete their school work
- fewer students will fall behind in their work if given the space and quiet to complete it
- students can complete their work without the distraction of television or the streets
- students will be supervised and guided by older individuals who will give them the encouragement they need from feeling neglected
- student achievement will increase as work is completed consistently and accurately

Documentation and Evaluation - The center's effectiveness as well as the minimum budget to "do it right" will be determined after a half year of operation. Documentation and monitoring of activity will be ongoing.

Estimated Budget - Approximately \$10,000 to establish a single site as a pilot demonstration model and to cover personnel and study support materials.

Job-Oriented Academy

Description - The Job-Oriented Academy will be a two-year program for high school juniors and seniors that combines classroom instruction with on-the-job experience. In addition to their regular classes, Academy students will take classes in subjects related to their career choice (e.g. Academy of Finance students would take additional classes in economics and finance).

Business sponsors will work with educators to provide students with basic job skills and incentives for acquiring labor-market aptitudes and attitudes in their particular industry. Students will attend seminars on developing good job habits. Students will also receive paid internships in the summer in their chosen career field.

Plan - A Steering Committee of business sponsors and local educators will be developed. Specific academies will be developed based on student interest and local business and industry need (e.g. Academy of Insurance, Academy of Engineering). There will be no more than 20 students per Academy per year.

To be accepted into the Academy Program, a student must be in advanced placement classes, make a two-year commitment to the program, and demonstrate a "positive" attitude. Students will receive assistance in post-graduation planning for careers and education.

Benefits - Benefits to be recognized from this program include:

- improved student job readiness skills and job-related behaviors
- increased student awareness of the aptitudes and attitudes important for success on the job
- increased opportunity for the high school and local business and industry to work together, especially in the area of curriculum planning
- building a "pool" of entry-level workers for local business and industry

Documentation and Evaluation - Documentation will begin at the onset of the program and will continue through to the end of the program. Quantitative and qualitative measures will be used to determine program effectiveness from both the educational and business and industry perspectives.

Estimated Budget - Approximately \$50,000 for the first year to include a program coordinator, paid summer internships for 20 students, and special curriculum materials.

Management Training for School Administrators

Description - The Management Training Program will be presented jointly by a corporate sponsor and the University of Massachusetts. Thirty-five (35) Holyoke School Administrators will focus on classic management theory covering a wide range of topics as well as on the problems facing managers today (e.g. managing change). Program components will include the analysis, practice and application of contemporary school management principles. Throughout the program, materials and ideas will be analyzed from the perspectives of the manager, the organization, and the community.

Plan - The program will be designed to address the management needs of the individual participants and the organizational needs of the school system. The one hundred (100) hours of training will cover topics considered essential for effective management. Corporate managers and trainers, experienced practitioners, and university faculty will conduct the sessions. Training schedule will be determined jointly by the administration at Suffolk Street and the school administrators.

Benefits - Individual benefits for the school administrators include:

- improved ability to lead and manage staff and programs
- improved personal productivity
- increased ability to diagnose organizational needs
- improved decision making ability
- increased awareness of contemporary management theories and practices

Organizational benefits for the school system include:

- increased capacity to manage human and technical resources
- increased ability to manage the system-wide change occurring in the Holyoke School System
- building a core of trained managers
- improved systematic short and long range planning competencies
- increased inter-school and inter-organizational cooperation
- increased administrators' awareness of the importance of their school's image

Documentation and Evaluation - There will be ongoing monitoring and evaluation of the management training sessions. Final evaluations by program participants will be completed. A summary report will be written of the final program evaluations.

Estimated Budget - \$1,500 per participant for 100 hours of training = \$52,500.

Cross-Age Peer Tutoring Program

Description - The Cross-Age Peer Tutoring Program will engage students who are most likely to drop out of school by recruiting, training, and rewarding them for becoming tutors to low-achieving younger children. High-risk students will be provided with the skills and motivation to help others. High school teachers and guidance counselors will identify "at-risk for dropping out" students. Parents will be informed about the goals of the program and encouraged to support their child's involvement.

Plan - For its first year the Program will operate on a pilot basis. During Spring 1989, Holyoke High School teachers and guidance counselors will identify 9th and 10th grade students who are very likely to drop out of school, using such criteria as low achievement, poor attendance, discipline problems, poor social integration, and low self-esteem. The identified students will be encouraged to apply to the tutoring program.

Twenty selected students will enroll in a special tutoring class for the entire 1989-90 school year. Four days per week, the entire class will go to a nearby elementary school. Two or three students will work regularly in each of the assigned classrooms. Tutoring work will be developed by each elementary classroom teacher, and may include reading and/or listening to children's literature, basic math, writing or language skill, and so on. When the class meets together, the curriculum will emphasize interpersonal communication skills, language arts improvement, child growth and development, and self-image and motivation.

Students will be paid for the time they spend tutoring. Other incentives will include visits by successful role models, exposure to local cultural and business opportunities through field trips with their tutees, and a sense of being needed and appreciated by younger students. In-kind contributions might support special incentives such as t-shirts, field trips, and a recognition luncheon or dinner.

Benefits - Benefits expected for the students involved in the program include:

- improve tutors' self-esteem
- improve tutors' school attendance
- improve both the tutors' and tutees' basic academic skill achievement
- improve tutors' school behavior

Documentation and Evaluation - Documentation will begin at the onset of the program and will continue throughout the program. Evaluation of the program's effectiveness will be continuous.

Estimated Budget - \$24,000 to support tutor stipends, a program coordinator stipend and training of tutors as well as special curriculum materials.

Comprehensive Adolescent Health Education Program

Description of Present Program and its Benefits - The youth of Holyoke have the highest at-risk factor of any community in Massachusetts outside of Boston. The Holyoke Teen Clinic was established at Holyoke High School in 1985 to address the critical issues of Infant Mortality, Adolescent Pregnancy and Parenting, Substance Abuse, School Absenteeism and Drop-outs.

The Teen Clinic now provides a variety of medical services including physical exams, sports physicals, treatment for illness, lab tests and immunizations. On-site counseling is provided for personal hygiene, sexuality, drug and alcohol abuse, family planning, family and relationship issues, and specific health-related areas.

Medical services at the Teen Clinic are provided by a Pediatric Nurse Practitioner, a Physician Assistant, and a Pediatrician with medical back-up from the Holyoke Pediatric Association and the Holyoke Health Center. Counseling services are provided by three therapists through contract.

The Teen Clinic has initiated the Teen Resource Project to provide outreach services, support and advocacy as well as medical care to particularly high risk adolescents who are using drugs, are sexually active and/or are dropping out of school. Pregnant and parenting adolescents receive additional medical and counseling services at affiliate agencies.

Since the Teen Clinic opened its doors, there have been over 7,000 encounters with adolescents. At the present time over 76% of Holyoke High School students are enrolled as members.

Plan - A comprehensive health education curriculum has been implemented in grades 4-6 and a pre K-3 program is being piloted at Metcalf School. A comprehensive health education curriculum will be written this spring for grades 7-8; the curriculum for grades 9-12 is already written and it is projected that the program will begin in grade 9 in the Fall of 1989.

The Holyoke Teen Clinic has three major funding needs: (1) to secure funding for the medical and counseling staff to stabilize the present level of services beyond June 1989; (2) to extend services to the Middle School and Dean Technical High School; (3) to expand services to include out-of-school youth. (Pilot programs addressing out-of-school youth needs will include comprehensive medical services, counseling and education for the clients of the Care Center (Teen-Tot Program), the proposed "El Puente" Center for the Performing Arts, and the proposed Sexual Assault Center).

Documentation and Evaluation - Documentation has been ongoing since the inception of the Teen Clinic. Evaluation of the various program components will continue as before to determine level of adolescent support and outreach.

Estimated Budget - \$130,000 is needed to continue present level of services after June 1989. \$200,000 is needed to expand services to include all adolescents (Grades 6-12) in Holyoke, including out-of-school youth. The \$70,000 increase will fund an additional full-time Pediatric Nurse Practitioner, a full-time outreach bilingual staff member, added hours for a Nutrition Educator and a Medical Director, and medical equipment and supplies.

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